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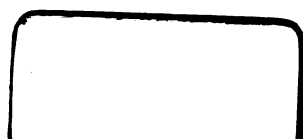
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Antitrinitarian Biography;
OR
SKETCHES OF THE LIVES AND WRITINGS
OF
DISTINGUISHED ANTITRINITARIANS;

EXHIBITING A VIEW OF THE
STATE OF THE UNITARIAN DOCTRINE AND WORSHIP IN
THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF EUROPE,
FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
A HISTORY OF UNITARIANISM IN ENGLAND
DURING THE SAME PERIOD.

BY
ROBERT WALLACE, F.G.S.,
AND
MEMBER OF THE HISTORICO-THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LEIPZIG.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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EXTENDING OVER AN ACADEMICAL COURSE OF FIVE YEARS,
SPENT IN
MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE, YORK,
PREPARATORY TO AN ENTRANCE ON THE DUTIES
OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY
AMONG
THE NON-SUBSCRIBING PROTESTANT DISSENTERS OF ENGLAND,

These Volumes
ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO
THE REV. CHARLES WELLBELOVED,
BY
THE AUTHOR.

20, CAMDEN PLACE, BATH,
FEB. 26, 1850.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

A glance at the body of this work is sufficient to shew, that the most convenient division of a History of Antitrinitarianism, from the Reformation to the close of the seventeenth century, is into the three following Periods. I. Its rise in the time of Servetus, and his earlier contemporaries. II. Its gradual and steady progress till the death of Ernest Sohner, and the ineffectual attempts of a few of his favourite pupils to prolong its existence in the University of Altorf. III. Its suppression in that University by the expulsion of the Antitrinitarian students, and the vicissitudes to which it was afterwards exposed in the kingdom of Poland; together with the banishment of the Socinians in a body from that country, and their subsequent dispersion over the other nations of Europe. To these three Periods the author has had an eye in the distribution of his work into volumes. It was found desirable on more accounts than one, but chiefly for purposes of reference, to maintain the succession of biographical notices in an unbroken series. The Articles, therefore, are numbered consecutively, from one to three hundred and sixty. But each volume, at the same time, exhibits Antitrinitarianism under a different aspect, as regards its external condition, and introduces a separate Period in its history.

To some readers the abbreviations occasionally employed may stand in need of explanation. On this subject it is unnecessary to say more, than that *Germ.*, *Hisp.*, *Ital.*, *Polon.*, *Gal.*, *Belg.* and *Lat.*, being abbreviated forms of *Germanicè*, *Hispanicè*, *Italicè*, *Polonicè*, *Gallicè*, *Belgicè* and *Latine*, denote that the proper names, or titles of books, with which they stand connected, are respectively in the *German*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, *Polish*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Latin* languages.

The author regrets, that, during the revision of the proof-sheets, a few errors escaped his observation, till it was too late to correct them. A list of such of these as he has subsequently noticed will be found under the head CORRIGENDA, in the next page; and it is only an act of justice to add, that they might have been more numerous than they are, but for the vigilant attention of his printer.

CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

- P. xxiv, line 6. For "advantages," read advantage.
160, — 27. — "shall,"—he shall.
266, — 16. — "Dean Paul's,"—Dean of St. Paul's.

VOLUME II.

- 146, — 32. For "Badzinius," read Budzinius.
466, — 11. — "John,"—James.
477, — 21-2. "Morstinus," and not "Morscovius," should have
been designated "Starost of Philopovia."
511, — 6. For "Jena," read Jena.
523, — 11. — "Calb,"—Kalb.
534, — 29. — "Art. 183,"—Art. 182.
558, — 27. — "Art. 193,"—Art. 192.
570, — 4. — "Pistorius,"—Pastorius.

VOLUME III.

- 61, — 29. For "Elutherop," read Eleutherop.
226, — 20. } — "Pistorius,"—Pastorius.
241, — 20. }
241, — 29. — "Pistorio,"—Pastorio.
489, — 27. — "Berthädigung,"—Verthädigung.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following work has been written amidst a variety of other occupations, and has been laid aside, from time to time, as other engagements required, and resumed, at intervals, as health and leisure permitted, for several years past. The author has often felt, as the range of his inquiries was enlarged and extended, how little he knew, when he entered upon his labours, and how little is known by Unitarians in general, of the history of those venerable confessors and martyrs, who led the way in freeing the religion of Jesus from some of its grossest abuses; and, in particular, what noble and costly sacrifices some of them made in defence of those primary doctrines of Christianity, —the Supremacy of the Father, and the Subordination of his Son, Jesus Christ. This feeling has often sustained him, and urged him to persevere, amidst difficulties and discouragements of no ordinary kind; and he trusts, that the goodly array of

names, which adorns the following pages, will have its effect, in inducing many of his readers to continue firm in the profession of obnoxious truth, and in stimulating them to fresh exertions in a cause, which in their minds is identified with that of pure and unadulterated Christianity.

The plan which originally suggested itself to the author was, first, to point out the origin, and trace the gradual development, of the doctrine of the Trinity; secondly, to produce testimonies of Ante-Nicene writers to the Supremacy of the Father; and thirdly, to give a series of biographical notices of those, who, since the general reception of the doctrine of the Trinity among Christians, have rejected or impugned that doctrine. The first and second parts of this plan he soon found it necessary to abandon, not on account of any difficulty which there would have been in bringing together the requisite proofs, but because the work would have extended over too wide a space, and would have involved an amount of labour and expense, too great for him to encounter. The question then arose, whether he should commence with those Christian Fathers, who, in the fourth century, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the Trinity, and descend, in the regular order of time, to the present day, dividing the whole into Three Periods,—the Patristic, the Scholastic, and the Protestant; or whether he should commence with the Reformation, and confine himself to those, who

have since that time distinguished themselves by their advocacy of the Divine Unity, or the doctrine of One God in one person. Necessity again compelled him to make choice of the latter plan, on account of the too comprehensive nature of the former. But when he saw his materials increasing upon him so rapidly, that the work, instead of being confined, as he had expected, within two or three volumes, would probably have extended to at least twice that number, impressed with the value of the Horatian maxim,

Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam,

(*Od.*, L. i. 4, 15),

he resolved at once to contract its limits, and content himself with bringing it down to the close of the seventeenth century; leaving it to others, who might be favoured with the requisite degree of health and leisure, to carry it forward to the present time.

It now became a matter for consideration, whether he should do more than make a selection of names from the works of Sandius and Bock, omitting those of least celebrity. But in attempting to carry out this idea, he soon felt, that it would be difficult to draw the line; and that he should probably lay himself open to the charge of having made an arbitrary selection. It thus became apparent, that he must either insert all the names which had been brought together by the above-mentioned writers, or pass over those of many, who, though un-

known to the English reader, were eminent in their day, and contributed, each in his own sphere, to the diffusion of an enlarged and liberal Theology. To have adopted the latter plan would have been to produce a partial and imperfect work, which would have satisfied neither the author himself, nor his readers. No alternative therefore was left; and the result he now ventures to lay before the public, convinced that, though some of the minor details contained in these volumes may have but little interest for the general reader, the most minute will not be without their value to the bibliographer, or the student of Ecclesiastical History.

It is possible, notwithstanding all the author's care, that the names of some able defenders of the Unitarian cause have been omitted. Should this prove to be the case, he will regret the fact, but may allege, by way of apology, that the present being the first attempt to produce an "Antitrinitarian Biography" on a large scale, in the English language, he is entitled to the indulgence usually accorded by the candid and liberal to first attempts. He begs to state, however, that no name, belonging to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, has been intentionally omitted, which Sandius and Bock have included in their works, except those of Melchior Hoffman, David George, and Martin Seidelius, of whom memoirs will be found in the Appendix;*

* Nos. III. and XIII.

and Francis Joseph Burrhus, or Borri, the Alchemist, who created a great sensation in Italy and Germany during the latter half of the seventeenth century, and of whom Schelhorn and Bayle have given accounts, which will fully justify the omission.* On the other hand, no pains have been spared to make the present work as complete as possible, by the addition of such names as had escaped the observation of those authors. In making these additions, the object has been to bring together the scattered notices of Antitrinitarians, which lay dispersed over the works of English and foreign writers; and more especially, as regards the former, to collect the valuable materials, which have been accumulating during the last half century, and which form a very interesting portion of the records of Unitarian periodical literature. The author has likewise to acknowledge his obligations to those, who have either published works expressly on the history of modern Unitarianism, or written separate biographical accounts of eminent Antitrinitarians, or incorporated such accounts in works on other subjects. In short, he lays claim to no higher merit, than that of having brought together, from sources which are inaccessible to the general reader, a mass of valuable and curious matter, illustrative of the lives and writings of Continental and English Unitarians.

* *Schelhornii Amœnitates Literariæ*, Tom. V. p. 141. *Bayle*, Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, *Art.* BORRI.

The proper names of *persons* have usually been retained in their Latinized forms, partly because it is by these that the persons themselves are generally known to English readers; and partly because it was found impossible, in many cases, to give them under any other form, in which the identity of the individual could be recognized. It was long the custom of the literati of Europe to translate their names into Latin or Greek; and many of the most eminent literary men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are now known to the world by such names only. It would be idle and pedantic in any one to attempt, in the present day, to divest them of these classical designations. Who, for example, that is at all desirous of escaping the charge of literary affectation, would think of calling Erasmus by his original name, *Gerard*, or of giving to Melanchthon the name of *Schwartzerde*? In some cases the author of the present work has been guided solely by his ear, as to the retention or rejection of the Latin termination of a name; and when a preference has been given to the Latinized form, on account of its having the sanction of long usage in its favour, or from any other motive, the original name, with few exceptions, has been subjoined in a parenthesis.

The proper names of *places* the author has generally given, as he found them spelt in geographical dictionaries, maps, and other sources of information of a similar kind. In a few instances, particularly

when the place is an obscure one, or happens not to have been mentioned in any of the authorities which he has consulted, he may possibly have failed in his attempts to discover the true orthography. But no one can imagine the difficulty of this part of his labours, who has not himself been engaged in a similar undertaking.

As regards the arrangement of the present work, it may be proper to state, that the author has taken as his model the "*Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*" of Sandius, to which, and to the "*Historia Antitrinitariorum*" of Bock, it is indebted for a large portion of its details. The "*Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*" of Sandius was published in 1684, under the editorial superintendence of Benedict Wissowatius, Junior; and the two volumes of Bock's "*Historia Antitrinitariorum*" were completed just a century later. The former has arranged the names of those, of whose lives and writings he gives an account, in *chronological* order, beginning with the sixteenth century, and bringing the work down to his own times. The latter, who has preferred an *alphabetical* arrangement, professes to give an account of those Antitrinitarians, who flourished during the two centuries and a half preceding the time at which he wrote. His "*Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*," which forms the first volume of his work, notwithstanding the different mode of arrangement, and the vast quantity of additional matter brought together, may be regarded more in the light

of an enlarged and corrected edition of Sandius, than as a distinct work. Sandius's "Bibliotheca," in fact, formed the nucleus of that of Bock, as it does also of the present work, and must of every future production of the same kind.

The advantages of Sandius's arrangement over that of Bock is too obvious to be dwelt upon. Bock, in giving to the first volume of his work the form of a biographical dictionary, evidently intended to produce a book for occasional consultation only. Sandius, on the other hand, was desirous of exhibiting the lives of those whom he commemorated, as they appeared on the stage of the world; and of shewing the progress of Antitrinitarianism from the time of the Reformation to his own, as deducible from the lives and writings of Antitrinitarians themselves. This also has been the leading aim of the present writer. He is fully aware, however, of the inconveniences, as well as the advantages, of such an arrangement. One unavoidable result of it is, that a single article often extends over a long series of years, and that the current of one man's life often runs into that of several others, so as to defy all attempts at strict classification in the order of time. The chain of events is occasionally broken, or suspended; and incidents, which occurred at long intervals, are sometimes brought into sudden and close contact. Some facts are necessarily anticipated; others are unavoidably delayed. To remedy these inconveniences, a CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

has been framed, which the reader will find at the close of this Preface, and in which most of the leading facts are set down under the year in which they occurred.

The work of Sandius contains accounts of Anti-trinitarian *authors* only. It was at first intended that the present work should, in like manner, be confined to such as had *written* in defence of the Divine Unity. But it soon became evident, that this would lead to the exclusion of many, who, though they had not advocated the cause of Unitarianism with their pens, had materially aided in its diffusion by their pious zeal and liberal contributions; and not a few, who were restrained from an open profession of it by the operation of persecuting laws, or by the fear of dissolving long-formed and deeply-cherished connexions. The plan of a mere Bibliotheca, therefore, was abandoned; and no one was passed over, from the fact of his not having written a book in defence of his opinions. Still it is not improbable, that the names of some are omitted, of whom the author has not been fortunate enough to meet with an account; for it has been the policy of some writers studiously to conceal the names of those, who have suffered in the cause of heterodoxy, and borne their testimony against the corrupt doctrines of a dominant Church. Of such it may be said, in the words of Cowper,*

* The Task, B. v.

They lived unknown,
Till persecution dragged them into fame,
And chased them up to heaven. Their ashes flew—
No marble tells us whither. With their names
No bard embalms and sanctifies his song:
And History, so warm on meaner themes,
Is cold on this.

It long remained a matter of doubt, whether the present work should be bibliographical, as well as biographical. There appeared much to be urged on both sides of this question. It was very clear, that the biographical portion would be imperfect, without a catalogue of the writings of those, of whose lives some account was given. At the same time, it appeared extremely undesirable to transfer to a work, intended principally for the perusal of English readers, the titles of some hundreds of volumes, or treatises of various kinds, in a dead language. As a general rule, therefore, the titles of Latin works *written by foreigners* are translated into English. In other cases, the author has felt himself at full liberty to give the titles in a translated, or an untranslated form; but has never intentionally left it doubtful, in what language the books themselves were written.

A very large portion of the works of Sandius and Bock is taken up with an account of manuscripts, which have never seen the light. Many of these are supposed, and some are known, to be still contained in private or public libraries on the continent; but as minute accounts of them, except in

special cases, would have proved neither interesting to the general reader, nor useful to the book-collector, the author has frequently contented himself with giving the bare titles of such manuscripts. He has also found it necessary in many instances, for the sake of brevity, to economise space, in a similar manner, with regard to that portion of the printed works, of which the titles only are mentioned.

As so much has already been said respecting the works of Sandius and Bock, it would perhaps be thought tedious to dwell upon those of other writers, of which a more partial use has been made. But the object of this Preface will not be answered, without the addition of a few words on this subject.

Lamy published in French an anonymous work, to which he gave the title, "Histoire du Socinianisme." In this work he introduces a great mass of extraneous matter; and is often led, by ignorance or prejudice, into statements and representations, on which little reliance can be placed. A very limited use has therefore been made of his work, in the present volumes. Another French writer (*Bayle*) has done much to throw light upon the history of Antitrinitarianism. His "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique" is a work of unparalleled research, and one of the most ample storehouses of biographical literature existing in any language. It has frequently been consulted, and generally with advantage. Much valuable assistance, in the ear-

lier part of the present volumes, has also been derived from *F. Trechsel's* recent publication, entitled, "Die Protestantischen Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socin;" of which the First Book, published in 1839, contains an account of Servetus and his predecessors, Hetzer, Denck, Campanus, Adam Pastoris, Claude of Savoy, and others; and the Second, published in 1844, is devoted to an account of Lælius Socinus and his contemporaries, Ochinus, Gribaldus, Blandrata and Gentilis. Of *Illgen's* "Vita Lælii Socini Specimen Historico-Ecclesiasticum," published in 8vo, at Leipzig, in 1814, as well as of his "Symbolarum ad Vitam et Doctrinam Lælii Socini illustrandam Particula I. et II.," in 4to, which followed it after an interval of fourteen or fifteen years, considerable use has been made; and the latter has been found particularly valuable in clearing up some difficulties respecting the celebrated society at Vicenza. Frequent reference has likewise been made to *Zeltner's* "Historia Crypto-Socinismi," as shewing the extent to which Antitrinitarianism had insinuated itself into the University of Altorf, and other continental seats of learning, in the early part of the seventeenth century. This work contains much, which Bock has either overlooked, or only cursorily glanced at; and some of the most interesting facts recorded in it, to which Bock had made no allusion, or which he had but slightly noticed, have been incorporated into the following pages. Much information has also

been gleaned from the epistolary correspondence of eminent theologians, particularly that of *Calvin*, *Socinus* and *Ruarus* ; and in the bibliographical portion of the work, frequent use has been made of *Vogt* and *Walchius*. Numerous other authorities have been consulted, of which the proper acknowledgments will be made when necessary, but upon which it would be tedious to dwell in the present connexion.

Many of the individuals, of whom some account will be found in these volumes, and among them some of those who were most eminent for their learning, talents and virtues, have not yet had justice done to them in our own language. The "Anti-Socinianism" of *Chewney*, for instance, is not only contemptible in a literary point of view, but the *Αἰρεσιᾶρχαι*, which is a part of it, is nothing more nor less than a series of disgusting caricatures. Its author professes, indeed, to give an account of the principal advocates of the Unitarian doctrine ; but he shews the unwarrantable bias, as well as the bitter and unchristian spirit in which he writes, in the very title-page, by calling that doctrine "this damnable Socinian Heresie," and representing his own work under the designation of "a cage of unclean birds." This, however, is a fair sample of the treatment which such men as Servetus, Lælius and Faustus Socinus, Francis Davidis, Lismaninus, Duthithius, and many others, meet with at the hands of such zealots ; nor can it be denied, that the most

impartial orthodox writers, foreign as well as English, when treating upon the lives of eminent Unitarians, too frequently indulge in the language of vituperation, as though they despaired of securing the attention of their readers without a plentiful seasoning of the "odium theologicum." Even Bock, who is as little chargeable with this fault as most Trinitarians, sometimes disgraces himself by the use of epithets, which, though in the estimation of some readers they may give a zest to the subject upon which he is treating, are peculiarly inappropriate in a biographical narrative which lays claim to the character of faithfulness and impartiality.

There may possibly be some, to whom the title "*Antitrinitarian* Biography" will appear objectionable, as being of too antagonistic a character. But it was not adopted hastily, or without due reflection. *Antitrinitarian* is the term used by previous writers, in the titles of their works on the same subject; and this term expresses more exactly than any other (that of *Unitarian* not excepted) the idea intended to be conveyed. "The Trinitarian," says Dr. Channing,* "believes that the One God is *three distinct persons*, called Father, Son and Holy Ghost; and he believes that each of these persons is equal to the other two in every perfection, that each is the only true God, and yet that the three are only one God. This is Trinitarianism." Now it is the sole

* Memoir of William Ellery Channing. London, 1848. Vol. I. Part ii. Chap. iii. p. 411, Note.

object of the present work to give some account of those who have rejected Trinitarianism, or the doctrine of one God in three persons; and this object could not have been so correctly or appropriately expressed by the use of any word, as its opposite,—Antitrinitarianism. There are many Trinitarians who question the right of the believer of one God in one person to the name *Unitarian* as a distinctive appellation, because the assumption of it seems to imply, that, while he is a believer in one God, they are believers in more Gods than one; whereas they profess to believe in one God as much as he. But the term *Antitrinitarian* is liable to no such objection. It clearly defines what is meant; and therefore answers the purpose for which language was framed, and to which it ought to be applied, by all who wish to make themselves understood.

Among the number of those impugnors of the doctrine of the Trinity, who are introduced to the notice of the reader in the following work, it will be seen, that, from the earliest period in the history of Protestantism, much diversity of opinion prevailed among them on minor points; while all were agreed in upholding the absolute Supremacy of the Father, and in attributing to the Son a lower rank in the scale of existence, and a delegated authority in carrying on the work which he had to perform. A similar agreement, combined with a corresponding diversity, still exists among those who are known, in our own country and our own age, by the name

of *Unitarians*; and such doubtless will continue to be the case, as long as they exercise their own judgments on religious subjects, and refuse to be bound by the decisions of fallible beings like themselves. “Late hoc patet nomen, et varii generis homines designat, quibus hoc unum commune est, quod omnes veræ aliquid distinctionis in divina natura ferre nolunt.”*

As this work is intended principally for the use of English readers, it has been thought desirable to prefix a short HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, containing a review of the ecclesiastical affairs of England, and particularly of the progress of Unitarianism from the Reformation to the close of the seventeenth century, drawn chiefly from contemporaneous sources, in order that the reader may be enabled the more readily to connect the biographical particulars, recorded in the body of the work, with the ecclesiastical history of his own country. A part of this Introduction was inserted in the first two volumes of the current series of the *Christian Reformer*, under the signature “R. W.” It was entitled, “Historical Sketch of the Trinitarian Controversy from the Accession of William III. to the passing of the Blasphemy Act;” and appeared there as part of a work, which the author was preparing for publication, and which he now ventures, with much diffidence, to lay before the world. Some of the

* *Mosh. Inst. Hist. Eccles.*, Sæc. xvii. Sect. ii. P. ii. Cap. vi. § vi. p. 895.

earlier biographical articles also were inserted in the *Monthly Repository* for 1831, but without any signature. At the time of their appearance in that work, it was known only to a few persons, that they were contributed by the present writer. The author has since heard them ascribed to the pen of another. In justice to himself, he now feels called upon to claim them as his own.

Many thanks are due to those kind friends, who have enabled the author to commit this work to the press, without the risk of pecuniary loss, by favouring him with their names as subscribers. To these, as well as to a few other friends, who have aided him by the loan of books, which his own library did not contain, and of which he was unable to procure a sight in any other way, he takes this opportunity of expressing his grateful sense of obligation.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

OR

CONSPECTUS OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PROGRESS OF ANTITRINITARIANISM,

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

A. D.

1527. Martin Cellarius publishes his treatise, "De Operibus Dei," to which Wolfgang Fabricius Capito supplies the Preface.—Lewis Hetzer and John Denck publish a German translation of the books of the Prophets.
1528. Capito falls under a suspicion of Antitrinitarianism.—John Campanus settles at Wittenberg, and teaches that the Son is inferior to the Father.—John Denck dies of the plague at Basle.
1529. Lewis Hetzer suffers death at Constance on a charge of blasphemy, Feb. 4th.
1530. The Synod of Petricow prohibits the importation of heretical books into Poland.
1531. Servetus publishes his Seven Books "De Trinitatis Erroribus."
1532. Servetus publishes his Dialogues "De Trinitate."
1534. Sigismund I., King of Poland, prohibits Polish students from resorting to foreign Universities.—Claude of Savoy disseminates Antitrinitarianism in Switzerland.
- The law against heretics in England is relaxed by the repeal of 2 Hen. IV.
1535. John Valdez advocates the principles of the Refor-

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- mation in Italy.—Ordinances against the Baptists, more commonly known by the name of Anabaptists, are published at Cracow.
Several Baptists seek refuge in England after the death of John Van Geelen.
1537. Claude of Savoy returns to the North of Italy.
1538. The Baptists in England are excepted from an act of grace, and severely persecuted. Three men and one woman are condemned to bear faggots at Paul's-Cross; and a man and woman are burnt alive in Smithfield.
1539. Catharine Vogel, the first Polish Unitarian, is burnt alive in the market-place at Cracow.—The liberty of the press is acknowledged by royal ordinance in Poland.—The writings of Servetus obtain an extensive circulation in the Venetian territory.
1540. The order of Jesuits is established, Sept. 27th.
The persecution of the Baptists in England continues, and three of them are burnt on account of their religion, April 29th.
1541. Sigismund I. threatens to deprive all who harbour heretical priests with loss of nobility.—Bernardine Ochinus forms an intimate friendship with John Valdez and Peter Martyr.
1542. Ochinus makes his escape from Italy.—Servetus publishes his edition of Pagninus's Bible.—Caspar Schwenckfeldt warns the Protestants of Augsburg and Strasburg of the Antitrinitarian opinions of Claude of Savoy.—Camillus Siculus and Coelius Secundus Curio meet in the Valteline.—Camillus settles at Caspan.—The Synod of Petricow takes measures for the suppression of heresy, and petitions the King to carry into execution his own ordinances against it.
1543. The Diet of Cracow formally grants to all Polish subjects the privilege of studying in foreign Universities.

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1544. The Synod of Petricow confirms its own decisions of 1542, and issues fresh injunctions against studying at the Lutheran Universities in Germany.
1546. Secret assemblies for studying the Scriptures are held at Vicenza.—Servetus sends Calvin the first draught of his "*Christianismi Restitutio*."—Stephen Dolet is burnt at Paris on a charge of Atheism, Aug. 3rd.—Adam Pastoris is excluded from the society of the Baptists in Friesland for maintaining that the Father alone is the true God.—Spiritus (supposed to be the same person as Adam Pastoris) visits Cracow, and attacks the doctrine of the Trinity in a party of friends.
1547. Lælius Socinus leaves Italy, and takes up his abode at Zurich.—Camillus Siculus removes from Caspan to Chiavenna, and is very zealous in the diffusion of his religious opinions.
- Henry VIII. dies, and is succeeded by Edward VI., Jan. 28th.—Ochinus and Peter Martyr visit England at Cranmer's request.
1548. Sigismund I., King of Poland, dies, and is succeeded by Sigismund Augustus, or Sigismund II.
- John Assheton, an English priest, having denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ, and the Holy Ghost, recants in the presence of Archbishop Cranmer, Dec. 28th.
1549. Francis Lismaninus is sent to Rome by the King of Poland, to congratulate Julius III., on his elevation to the papal see.—The inquisitive disposition of Lælius Socinus becomes offensive to Calvin.
- An incredible number of Baptists suffer death in England, on account of their religion.
1550. Claude of Savoy attacks the doctrine of the Trinity at Memmingen.—Lælius Socinus goes to study at Wittenberg, in the month of July.
- John a Lasco arrives in England, in the spring.—The Church of the Augustin Friars, in London, is

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granted by letters patent from Edward VI., for the use of foreign Protestants; and obtains the name of *the Strangers' Church*, July 24th.—John a Lasco is appointed Minister of this Church.—Antitrinitarianism begins to shew itself in England under various forms. •

1551. Lælius Socinus leaves Wittenberg in the month of June; visits Poland, and completes the conversion of Lismaninus in the autumn; and at the end of the year returns to Switzerland.

George Van Parris, a member of the Strangers' Church, suffers death on a charge of heresy, April 7th.

1552. Calvin remonstrates with Lælius Socinus on account of the freedom of his investigations, January 1st.—Lælius visits his father at Bologna, in company with P. P. Vergerius, in the summer.—He renews his intimacy with Camillus Siculus, and imbibes many of his opinions.—The ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Poland is virtually abrogated by the Diet, which deprives the spiritual courts of the power of inflicting temporal punishment for heresy.

1553. Andrew Fricius Modrevius is appointed by the Polish Diet secretary of legation to the Council of Trent.—Francis Lismaninus is commissioned by Sigismund Augustus to visit the chief Protestant countries of Europe, in order to purchase books for the royal library, and collect information respecting the different Protestant Churches, institutions, rites, and modes of discipline.—He obtains from the Synod of Mordy, June 9th, a certificate, absolving him from the charge of Arianism, on the strength of which he sets out on his journey for Zurich.—Servetus publishes his "*Christianismi Restitutio*."—Lælius Socinus is at Geneva, when Servetus is cast into prison.—David George addresses an intercessory letter to the Swiss Magis-

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trates, entreating them to spare the life of Servetus, Oct. 1st.—Servetus is burnt alive for heresy at Geneva, Oct. 27th.—George Blandrata and John Paul Alciati leave Italy, and pass through the Grison territory in their way to Switzerland.

Edward VI. dies, and is succeeded by Mary, July 6th.—All foreigners are ordered to quit England, in consequence of which, Ochinus, Peter Martyr, and John a Lasco give up their appointments, and leave the country.

1555. The first Synod of the Reformed in Poland is held at Pinczow, May 1st, at which Lismaninus is urged to return to that country.—Calvin addresses letters to Sigismund Augustus, and other influential Poles, on the progress of the Reformation.—Blandrata visits Poland for a short time.—Martin Crovicius, a priest in communion with the Catholic Church, marries.—A dogmatic union is effected between the Helvetic and Bohemian Churches in Poland, at the Synod of Kozminek, Aug. 24th—Sept. 2nd. Patrick Patingham is burnt at Uxbridge on a charge of Arianism, Aug. 29th.

1556. The second Synod of the Reformed in Poland is held at Secemin, at which Gregory Pauli avows himself an Antitrinitarian, and Peter Gonesius expresses his belief in the articles of the Apostles' Creed, but rejects those of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, Jan. 24th.—Lismaninus, after repeated delays, returns to Poland in the month of June.—The Diet of Warsaw enacts a law, granting permission to every Polish nobleman to introduce into his own house any mode of worship which he may think proper, provided it is based on the Scriptures.—Blandrata returns to Italy, is imprisoned by the Inquisition at Pavia, makes his escape, and flies to Geneva.—Marianus Socinus, the father of Lælius, dies at Bologna, August 19th.

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Henry Nicolai, founder of the sect of Familists, visits England, and makes several converts among the common people.—Archdeacon Philpot writes his “Apology for spitting on an Arian.”—William Powling, John Simms, and Robert King abjure Unitarianism.

1557. James Acontius leaves Italy.

1558. The Jesuits begin to obtain a footing in Poland.—Lælius Socinus visits Poland a second time.—Blandrata attends a Synod at Pinczow in the month of November, which contributes much to undermine the commonly received doctrine of the Trinity.—Matthew Gribaldus grants a temporary asylum to J. V. Gentilis at Fargias, for which he is imprisoned at Bern.—Gonesius further develops his views (vide A. D. 1556), and repudiates Infant Baptism, at the Synod of Brzest, in Lithuania, Dec. 15th.

Dr. Traheron publishes his “Readings against the Arians.”—Mary, Queen of England, dies Nov. 17th, and is succeeded by Elizabeth.

1559. Ochinus visits Lismaninus, and at a private conference at Pinczow attaches himself to the Antitrinitarian party.—An attempt is made at the Diet of Petricow to deprive the Catholic Bishops of their senatorial dignity.—John a Lasco and Stanislaus Sarnicki, in order to check the growth of Antitrinitarianism, require a Confession of Faith respecting the Trinity from all the Ministers present at the tenth Synod of the Reformed, held at Pinczow, April 25th.—Peter Statorius arrives in Poland; and being naturalized as a noble, takes the name of *Stoinski*.—At the twelfth Synod of the Reformed, held at Pinczow Nov. 22nd, a long dispute is held with Stancarus on the mediatorial character of Christ, and a letter is presented from Remigius Chelmius, calling in question the pro-

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priety of addressing prayers to the Holy Spirit.—James Palæologus escapes from a prison of the Inquisition, and flies from Italy into Germany.

The Strangers' Church in Augustin Friars, having been suppressed by Mary, is restored by Elizabeth, and placed under the superintendence of Grindal.—The Rev. John Pullayne, who had published "A Tract against the Arians" during the reign of Mary, is made Archdeacon of Colchester.

1560. John a Lasco dies, and Peter Statorius delivers a funeral oration over his remains, which is printed, and dedicated to Lismaninus.—The Pinczovians publish a brief "Confession of Faith."—At the seventeenth Synod of the Reformed, held at Xionx in the month of September, Blandrata is for the first time designated an Elder of the Church of Little Poland.

All Baptists are ordered to quit England.

1561. Prince Nicholas Radzivil sends Blandrata with full powers to the nineteenth Synod of the Reformed, held at Pinczow, in the month of January.—Remigius Chelmius, at the same Synod, renews his confession against the invocation of the Holy Spirit, (vide A. D. 1559,) in which Peter Statorius acquiesces.—Ochinus publishes a Catechism, in which he shews Antitrinitarian tendencies.—The Pinczovians publish a larger "Confession of Faith" (vide A. D. 1560).—Ludovico Fieri is excommunicated by the Synod of Coire for attacking the Divinity of Christ.—Lismaninus addresses a letter to Iwan Karninski, in which he asserts the Supremacy of the Father, Sept. 10th.—At the twentieth Synod of the Reformed, held at Cracow Sept. 16th, a letter of Calvin's is produced by Martin Czechovicus, exhorting the Ministers of Little Poland to beware of Blandrata.—Lismaninus, in the

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month of December, addresses a second letter to Karninski on the Supremacy of the Father.

1562. Andrew Dudithius and John Sylvester are deputed by the Hungarian clergy to attend the Council of Trent.—Blandrata presents a written Confession, couched in scriptural language, to the twenty-first Synod of the Reformed, held at Xionx, which is privately read, March 10th.—The same Confession is presented, and publicly read, at the twenty-second Synod, held at Pinczow April 21st; and at the same Synod the use of unscriptural terms in preaching is forbidden.—Lælius Socinus dies at Zurich in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and his nephew Faustus, then residing at Lyons, immediately repairs to Zurich, and takes possession of his papers, in the month of May.—The Synod of Rogow evinces a leaning to the doctrines of Gregory Pauli, in the month of July.—A Synod, composed of a majority of the adherents of Gregory Pauli, is held at Pinczow in the month of August, at which Sarnicki, the leader of the Trinitarian party, refuses to attend.—Giulio Guirlada suffers martyrdom at Venice on account of his religion, Oct. 19th.—A Synod is held at Pinczow, Nov. 4th, at which a motion is made by the heterodox, and opposed by the orthodox party, that the Helvetic Confession shall be signed, but that each subscriber shall be at liberty to interpret it as he pleases.—A conference is held at Petricow, which leads to a final rupture between the Trinitarian and Antitrinitarian party.—At this conference John Cazanovius joins the Antitrinitarians.

1563. Ochinus publishes his two volumes of "Dialogues," for which he is expelled from the city, and territory of Zurich.—Blandrata accepts an invitation to become court physician to John Sigismund II.,

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Prince of Transylvania, and converts Francis Davidis.—John Valentine Gentilis holds a public disputation on the doctrine of the Trinity at the Synod of Pinczow.—A Synod of the adherents of the Helvetic Church is convened by Sarnicki, under the influence of Bonar, at Cracow, which condemns the Antitrinitarian doctrines in the most unqualified manner, May 14th.—Another Synod, consisting of Antitrinitarians, is convened at Cracow; and, under the presidency of Lutomirski, declares the resolutions of the preceding Synod null and void.—An Antitrinitarian Synod is held at Mordy, at which forty-two Ministers sign a Confession, denying the Divinity of Christ, June 6th.—Lismaninus draws up a short account of the Trinity, in opposition to Stancarus and others, at Grodno, August 17th.—The first Protestant Polish Bible is printed at Brest, under the auspices of Prince Nicholas Radzivil.

1564. Ochinus, after his exile from Zurich, arrives in Poland, and preaches in his native language to a mixed congregation of Italians and Poles at Cracow.—An ordinance is passed by the Diet at Parczow, August 17th, by which all foreigners, exercising the ministry in Poland, and at the same time impugning the doctrine of the Trinity, are required to quit the country three days after Michaelmas.—Ochinus is driven from Poland by this ordinance.—Erasmus Otvinovius tramples upon the consecrated wafer in the streets of Lublin, and is acquitted, because there is no existing law for the punishment of such an offence.
1565. Acontius publishes his "*Satanæ Stratagemata*" at Basle.—Dudithius begins to waver in his attachment to the Church of Rome.—The Diet of Petricow, consisting of deputations from all the orthodox Reformed Churches in Poland, passes a reso-

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lution, excluding Antitrinitarians from all future meetings of Trinitarian Protestants; and the Reformed Church is thenceforward divided into two distinct bodies, **THE GREATER CHURCH** professing, and **THE LESSER CHURCH** rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity.—At the Synod of Brest, in Cujavia, June 10th, steps are taken for setting at rest the dispute, which has arisen among the Antitrinitarians on the subject of Infant Baptism; but no definite conclusion is arrived at.—At the Synod of Wengrow, Dec. 25th, many of the first families in Poland, and the neighbouring countries, join the Antitrinitarian Churches; the Baptism of Infants is declared to have the sanction neither of Scripture, nor primitive tradition; and every one is left to follow his own conviction, as to the mode of administering this ordinance.

1566. The resolution of the Synod of Wengrow, respecting Infant Baptism, is rejected by the Church of Wilna.—Matthew Gribaldus dies of an infectious disease.—The first disputation on the Trinity in Transylvania is held at Weissenburg, Feb. 24th.—Francesco Sega de Rovigo suffers martyrdom at Venice, on account of his religion, Feb. 25th.—George Schomann, and his hearers at Pinczow, embrace the Unitarian doctrine.—A conference is held at the Diet of Petricow, convened by royal mandate, for the purpose of bringing about a further pacification of the Reformed Churches, but is productive of no definite result.—Gentilis is condemned on a charge of heresy, and beheaded at Bern.—A Protestant Synod is convened at Thorda, and another at Maros-Vasarhely, in Transylvania, for the purpose of discussing the doctrine of the Trinity; but no conclusion is arrived at.
1567. The Synod of Lancut, at which John Securus publicly defends the opinions of Lælius Socinus,

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and which is convened for the purpose of establishing a uniformity of doctrine in the Antitrinitarian Churches, breaks up without coming to any decision.—The Synod of Skrzynna, at which John Securus again defends the opinions of Lælius Socinus, exhibits a strong division between those Antitrinitarians who admit, and those who deny the preëxistence of Christ; and a resolution is adopted, June 29th, which maintains an external union between the parties.—The Ministers of the Antitrinitarian Churches in Poland and Transylvania publish a work in two books, entitled, “De falsa et vera unius Dei Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti Cognitione.”—Prince Nicholas Radzivil dies, and his sons return to the communion of the Catholic Church.—Dudithius marries, and renounces the Catholic religion.

1568. John Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, appoints a conference to be held in the royal palace at Weissenburg, to discuss the doctrine of the Trinity, and approves of the opinion of those, who acknowledge One God in one person, and who are thenceforward called UNITARIANS, and permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in his dominions. —Stanislaus Farnovius, who advocates the preëxistence of Christ, separates from the other Polish Antitrinitarians, and is followed by Martin Czechovicus, John Niemojevius, Stanislaus Wisnovius, John Falconius, George Schomann, and others.

1569. Poland and Lithuania are united by an act of the Diet of Lublin.—The town of Racow is built by John Sieninius.—Hermann Van Flekwyk is burnt, on a charge of heresy, at Bruges, June 10th.—Jerome Philipovius, Simon Ronemberg, George Schomann, and others, make an abortive attempt to effect a union with the Baptists of Moravia.—The first Antitrinitarian Baptist Church is formed

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- at Cracow, and Gregory Pauli is appointed its Pastor.—Francis Davidis presents to the Synod of Waradein a Confession of Faith concerning the Trinity, Oct. 10th.—Minus Celsus leaves Italy, and seeks a refuge in the Rhætian Alps.
1570. The Act of Union, called the “Consensus Sandomiriensis,” by which the Churches in Great and Little Poland, Russia, Lithuania and Samogitia, following the Confessions of Augsburg, Bohemia and Switzerland, are formed into one body, is concluded at Sandomir, April 14th.—The above Act is confirmed, and further developed by the Synod of Posnania, May 18th.—Martin Czechovicus, John Niemojevius, and several others abandon the doctrine of Christ’s preëxistence. (Vide A.D. 1568.)
1571. John Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, dies, and is succeeded by Stephen Bathory, March 14th.—Adam Neuser makes his escape from Germany.—John Sylvanus is beheaded on a charge of heresy, by order of Frederick, Elector Palatine.
1572. Adam Neuser and John Sommer arrive at Cracow in the spring, and leave Poland for Transylvania, April 15th.—Adam Neuser is apprehended as a spy at Clausenburg, and sent to Constantinople, where he makes a feigned profession of Mahometanism, to save his life.—James Suter and Matthias Glirius are banished from the Palatinate.—Sigismund Augustus dies at Knysin in the month of June.—Simon Budnæus publishes a translation of the Bible into the Polish language.
1573. Henry of Valois is elected King of Poland in the month of May.—A General Synod of the three Trinitarian Protestant Churches in Poland is held at Cracow, the chief object of which is to impress the newly-elected Monarch with a sense of the strength and importance of the Protestant interest

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in that kingdom.—James Palæologus and Matthias Glirius are appointed joint Rectors of the School at Clausenburg.

The Privy Council of Queen Elizabeth, in the month of April, warns the members of the Strangers' Church not to receive into their communion any but foreigners, on pain of banishment.

1574. A summary of the religious doctrines of the Antitrinitarians, supposed to have been drawn up by George Schomann, is published, under the title, "*Catechesis et Confessio Fidei Cœtus per Poloniam congregati in Nomine Jesu Christi, Domini nostri crucifixi et resuscitati, &c.*"—Simon Budnæus publishes the New Testament with Annotations in the Polish language.—Faustus Socinus leaves Italy, and settles at Basle, where he devotes himself entirely to the study of Theology.—Henry of Valois abdicates the crown of Poland in the month of June.

Rumours of new sects, as Judaism, Arianism, and the like, are rife in England, and reach the ears of Grindal.

1575. Dr. Raphael Ritter is very zealous in the dissemination of Antitrinitarianism in Ducal Prussia.—Martin Czechovicius writes against Pædobaptism.—Stephen Bathory is elected King of Poland in the month of December.

The writ "*De Hæretico comburendo*," which has slumbered in England for seventeen years, is revived, and put in force against the Baptists.—John Fox, the Martyrologist, addresses his celebrated letter to Queen Elizabeth, to dissuade her from burning two Dutch Baptists for heresy.

1576. Simon Budnæus publishes a Confession of the principal Articles of the Christian Faith.

1577. Faustus Socinus, after a residence of three years at Basle (vide A. D. 1574), begins to throw off all

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reserve and disguise, about his religious opinions.—Elective Tribunals, or Supreme Courts of Justice are established in Poland and Lithuania, by which the Royal Court is superseded, and the Church is deprived of its separate jurisdiction.—Martin Czechovicius publishes a translation of the New Testament into the Polish language.—Andrew, Stanislaus, and Christopher Lubieniecius leave the Polish Court, and devote themselves to the ministry among the Antitrinitarians.—Some of the more zealous of the Polish Baptists, among whom is George Schomann, hold a conference with Faustus Socinus on the subject of Baptism.

Francis Pucci leaves England, and goes into Switzerland, where he holds a disputation with Faustus Socinus, "On the State of Man before the Fall."

1578. Faustus Socinus goes into Transylvania, at the invitation of George Blandrata, to convince Francis Davidis of his presumed error, in refusing to offer divine worship to Jesus Christ.—The Roman Catholic Clergy of Poland, at the Synod of Petricow, declare their unqualified submission to the decrees of the Council of Trent.—The University of Cracow is thrown open to students of all religious persuasions, Sept. 2nd.

1579. Francis Davidis dies (according to some accounts, June 6th; according to others, Nov. 15th); and is succeeded, as Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania, by Demetrius Hunyadi.—A Confession of Faith is drawn up by the new Superintendent, and is read and approved at a General Synod, convened at Clausenburg, July 1st.—Faustus Socinus leaves Transylvania for Poland, and settles at Cracow in the month of April.—At the request of the Polish Brethren, he draws up a reply to Andrew Volanus, on the nature and expiation of Christ, which is the first work composed

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by him after his settlement in Poland.—Dudithius commences a correspondence with F. Socinus.

Matthew Hamont is burnt as a heretic at Norwich in the month of May.

1580. Faustus Socinus, with a large body of Antitrinitarians, goes to Levartow, for the purpose of holding a disputation with some Ministers of the Reformed Church; but the latter decline the challenge, on the ground that they can hold no intercourse with followers of Ebion, Arius, or Paul of Samosata.—He holds a friendly conversation with some of the Polish Brethren, on the subject of Baptism, in which he contends, that this rite was meant for proselytes only.

1582. James Palæologus is imprisoned by order of the Emperor Rudolph, and afterwards sent to Rome.—The doctrine of Simon Budnæus respecting the worship of Christ, which is directly opposed to that of Faustus Socinus, is condemned by the Synod of Lublin.—George Cratzer publishes a Catechism at Clausenburg, the sentiments of which are represented by Wolfgang Franzius as Photinian.

1583. Faustus Socinus leaves Cracow, after a residence of about four years, and retires to the seat of Christopher Morstinus at Paulikovice.—Christian Francken professes himself an Antitrinitarian.—F. Socinus publishes his reply to the Jesuits of Posnania.—Theodosius Schimberg publishes a collection of treatises by Matthias Glirius, Adam Neuser, and John Sommer.

Heresy is very prevalent among the clergy in the diocese of Norwich.—John Lewes is burnt at Norwich, Sept. 18th, for denying the godhead of Christ.

1584. Faustus Socinus holds a disputation with Christian Francken, March 14th, on the honour due to Christ.—At the Synod of Chmielnik he powerfully contributes to the rejection of Millennarian

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opinions.—Erasmus Johannis flies from Antwerp, and settles at Clausenburg.—F. Socinus holds a disputation with him on the preëxistence of Christ.—Simon Budnæus is publicly excommunicated at the Synod of Wengrow, after a discussion on the worship of Christ, which he opposes, and F. Socinus defends.

1585. James Palæologus is burnt alive at Rome, in the month of March, as an Antitrinitarian.—Christian Francken is expelled, by royal authority, from the Kingdom of Poland, for publishing certain books against the Trinity.—Alexius Rodecki, the printer of these books, is imprisoned by an order from the King, obtained through the influence of the Jesuits, but soon liberated at the intercession of Stanislaus Tazzycki.—Piekarski is removed from the communion of the Socinian Church, for defending the opinions of the so-called Judaizers.—Christopher Ostorod makes a public profession of Unitarianism, and is rebaptized, in the month of September.—John Volkelius is admitted a full member of the Socinian Church, by rebaptization, at the Synod of Chmielnik.
1586. Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, dies at Grodno, Dec. 12th.
1587. Sigismund III. is elected King of Poland in the month of August.—Faustus Socinus leaves Paulikovice, and returns to Cracow.
1588. F. Socinus revises his reply to Andrew Volanus, and publishes it with a Dedication to John Kiszka.—He completely establishes his influence at the Synod of Brest, and succeeds in removing all remaining differences among the Polish Brethren.—The care of the Church of Luclavice is entrusted to Peter Statorius, the younger.—Cornelius Daems narrowly escapes apprehension at Gouda, as a favourer of Socinus and his doctrines.

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- Francis Ket, M.A., a clergyman of the diocese of Norwich, is burnt for "divers detestable opinions against Christ our Saviour."
1590. Andrew Fricius Modrevius publishes his "*Sylvæ*" at Racow, in the month of July.
1591. George Schomann, the friend and colleague of Gregory Pauli, dies at Chmielnik.—Gregory Pauli dies a very old man at Racow.—Andrew Voidovius is confirmed in Socinian principles by Valentine Smalcus, at Strasburg.—Peter Statorius, Jun., holds a disputation with Stanislaus Farnovius, at Luclavice, on the preëxistence of Christ.
1592. Demetrius Hunyadi, second Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania, dies, and is succeeded by George Enyedi.—Socinus becomes an inmate in the house of Dr. Buccella at Biskupie, near Cracow.—Christopher Ostorod holds a disputation with Jerome Powodowski, Canon of Posnania, on the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, and Baptism.—Peter Statorius, Jun., holds a disputation with Adrian Radziminski, and other Jesuits, at Lublin.—Albert Calissius and others hold a disputation with Adrian Radziminski at Levartow.—Matthew Radecius makes a public profession of Unitarianism by baptism, and, as a consequence, is deprived of the office of Secretary to the city of Dantzic, in the month of August.—Valentine Smalcus is admitted, by baptism, a member of the Socinian Church, Dec. 25th.
1593. Socinus publishes a reply, in the Polish language, to the Jesuit Wujek, on the divinity of the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit.—Peter Statorius, Jun., holds another disputation with Stanislaus Farnovius, and Stanislaus Wisnovius on the preëxistence of Christ.—The Synod of Lublin decides, with only one dissentient voice, June 4th, that the sole object of the Lord's Supper is the commemoration

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- and preaching of the death of Christ.—Valentine Smalcus commences a correspondence with Socinus.—Peter Statorius, Jun., holds a conference with John Petricius on the præexistence of Christ, Dec. 12th.
1594. John Licinius holds a disputation, concerning the Divinity of Christ, with Martin Smiglecus, the Jesuit, at Novogrodek, January 25th.—Socinus, at the request of Elias Arcissevius, publishes his celebrated work, “De Jesu Christo Salvatore.”
1595. Socinus publishes his reply to Erasmus Johannis; a Latin translation of his reply to the Jesuit Wujek; and an account of the controversy between himself and Francis Davidis.—Jerome Moscorovius joins the Socinians, and acquires great influence among them.—George Ludwig Leuchsner enters the University of Altorf, December 1st.
1596. The Synods allow their wealthier members to take advantage of all the privileges enjoyed by Polish nobles, such as to possess offices and dignities, and to bear arms, but only to do so in self-defence.
1597. Socinus leaves the house of Dr. Buccella, and goes into his former lodgings at Cracow.—George Enyedi, the third Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania, dies Nov. 24th, and is succeeded by John Kosa.
1598. Martin Czechovicius is deprived of the ministerial office, March 8th, for creating schisms among the Antitrinitarians.—Socinus is driven by violence from Cracow, and takes up his abode at Luclavice, in the house of Abraham Blonski, just before Whitsuntide.—Christopher Ostorod holds a friendly conference on the Socinian doctrine with James Fabricius, Rector of the Gymnasium at Dantzic.—Ostorod and Voidovius undertake a missionary journey into Holland and Friesland, July 11th.—An intimacy springs up between Ostorod and

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- Ernest Sohner at Leyden.—Conrad Vorstius and James Arminius begin to study the works of the Socinian writers.
1599. James Sieninius, the proprietor of Racow, is converted to the Unitarian faith by John Securus, Nov. 13th.
1600. James Sieninius formally separates himself from the Evangelical party, and is admitted a member of the Socinian Church.—Valentine Smalcus and Christopher Rudnicus undertake a journey into Lithuania, June 18th, for the purpose of silencing Joseph Domanovius, and other followers of Francis Davidis. — Smalcus undertakes another journey into Lithuania, in the month of December, for the same purpose; and Domanovius not appearing is excommunicated.
1601. A conference is held at Racow, at which Socinus, Statorius, Moscorovius, the three Lubieniecii, Ostorod, Smalcus, Volkeli, and other eminent Antitrinitarians are present, March 7th.
1602. James Sieninius, at the suggestion of Stanislaus Lubieniecus the Elder, erects at Racow a public School or College, for the education of Unitarian Ministers, and establishes a printing-press in the same town.—G. L. Leuchsner is present at the Synod of Racow, Oct. 7th—19th, where he is recognized as a brother, and receives the right hand of fellowship.—This Synod, which is one of unusual importance, owing to the recent liberality of James Sieninius, is attended by most of the leading Socinian Ministers, Elders and Brethren.
1603. Christopher Brockayus is appointed first Rector of the College at Racow.—Bartholomew Vigilus is appointed Curator of the same establishment.—Valentine Smalcus visits the Churches in the neighbourhood of Dantzic, to counteract the influence of some zealots from England.—Simon Pis-

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torius and Daniel Franconius settle in Poland.—The Cathedral Church of Clausenburg, which has been in the hands of the Unitarians from the time of John Sigismund, is taken from them, and given to the Jesuits.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, dies, and is succeeded by James I., March 24th.

1604. Socinus dies at Luclavice in the sixty-fifth year of his age.—Valentine Smalcus undertakes a mission into Lithuania, to settle a dispute which has arisen concerning Baptism.—Gregory Ottrepowicki, a protégé of Matthias Twardochleb, a Polish Unitarian, announces himself as Prince Demetrius, son of John Basilius, Duke of Muscovy.
1605. Boris, Czar of Muscovy, is killed, and Ottrepowicki seizes upon the government, and is proclaimed Czar, April 13th.—Smalcus, Satorius, Moscorovius and Volkeliuſ begin to prepare for publication a Catechism for the use of the Socinian Churches, April 25th.—Satorius dies, May 9th.—The first edition of "The Racovian Catechism" is published in the Polish language.—Valentine Radecius is appointed Pastor of the Saxon Unitarian Church at Clausenburg, in the month of October.—Matthias Twardochleb sets out on a visit to Ottrepowicki at Moscow, November 7th, and is hospitably entertained by him.—A resolution is passed by the Polish Socinians, condemning defensive war. (Vide A. D. 1596.)
1606. Meetings for theological discussion begin to be held at the house of Smalcus, Jan. 7th.—Ottrepowicki is slain by Basil Zuski, when celebrating his nuptials with Anna Maria Georgia, daughter of the Palatine of Sandomir, in the month of May.—A Polish translation of the New Testament is prepared by Moscorovius, Licinius and Smalcus, from the versions of Budnæus and Czechovicus,

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- (vide A.D. 1574 and 1577,) and published under the auspices of the Socinians at Racow.—George Manlius is appointed successor to Christopher Brockayus, as Rector of the College at Racow.
1607. The meetings at the house of Smalcus are suspended from Feb. 22nd to Nov. 28th, on account of the disturbed state of Poland.—G. L. Leuchsner settles as an advocate at Nuremberg, and is a secret favourer of the Unitarian doctrine.—Michael Gittichius enters as a student in the University of Altorf, Dec. 10th.
1608. Smalcus is sent on a missionary tour into Sillesia.—He publishes a German translation of "The Racovian Catechism," and dedicates it to the Senate of the University of Wittenberg.
1609. The last of the meetings for theological discussion in the house of Smalcus is held Jan. 3rd.—Jerome Moscorovius publishes a Latin translation of "The Racovian Catechism," and dedicates it to James the First, King of England.
1610. Gittichius is expelled from the University of Altorf on account of his zeal in the propagation of Unitarianism.—Samuel Nieciecius succeeds George Manlius, as Rector of the College at Racow.—Ostorod raises dissensions in the Church of Buscow, near Dantzic, on the question, Whether the precepts of Christ and his Apostles are all alike necessary to salvation? but, on being remonstrated with, submits to the opinion of the majority.—Courad Vorstius is appointed successor to Arminius in the University of Leyden.—He publishes an enlarged edition of his celebrated work, "De Deo."
1611. Ostorod dies at Dantzic, April 8th.—John Tyscovicus, of Bielsk, is beheaded, and his body barbarously mangled, Nov. 16th, for refusing to swear by the Trinity, or on a crucifix.

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James I. causes Vorstius's treatise, "De Deo," to be burnt at St. Paul's Cross, and in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

1612. At the Synod of Lublin, the Socinians, in consequence of the martyrdom of John Tyscovicius, (vide A.D. 1611,) and other outrages, affecting the Protestants of Poland generally, try to bring about a union with the Evangelical party, for mutual protection against the encroachments of the Jesuits; but the negotiation is unsuccessful.—Moscorovius and Smalcus address a joint letter to the Mennonites, April 21st, proposing a union between them and the Socinians.—The dissatisfied partisans of Ostorod, in the neighbourhood of Dantzic, are visited by Smalcus and Moscorovius in the month of April, and the unity of the Church is re-established.—John Stoinius is ordained at the Synod of Racow in the month of May, and becomes, like his father, Peter Statorius, Jun., one of the most eloquent of the Socinian preachers.—The second edition of the German translation of "The Racovian Catechism" is published at Racow.—Ernest Sohner dies, Sept. 30th, and leaves the rising society of Antitrinitarians in the University of Altorf without a head.—John Crellius leaves Nuremberg, Nov. 1st, and travels alone, and on foot, to Cracow.—He reaches Racow, where he takes up his abode, Dec. 13th, and spends the remainder of his life.

Bartholomew Legate is burnt for heresy at Smithfield, March 18th.—Edward Wightman is burnt for heresy at Lichfield, April 11th.

1613. The Mennonites having returned an unfavourable answer to the letter of Moscorovius and Smalcus, (vide A.D. 1612,) the Synod of Racow comes to the resolution, that the attempt to form a union with that religious body must be abandoned, as

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impracticable.—John Crellius is appointed corrector of the press for German and Latin publications; and Professor of Greek in the College of Racow, in the month of May.—Paul Krokier succeeds Samuel Nieciecius, as Rector of the College at Racow.

1614. Smalcus holds three separate discussions with Stan. Farnovius, the Arian Minister at Zarsyn.—He addresses a letter to Conrad Vorstius, Jan. 26th, inviting him to join the Socinians.—Matthias Rhaw, a native of Clausenburg, goes to the University of Altorf, Feb. 7th, and is very active in making proselytes to Unitarianism among the students.—Martin Ruarus visits Racow, and contracts an intimacy with the leading Socinians of that place.—He causes to be presented to the University of Strasburg, by the hands of Daniel Taszycki, a copy of Faustus Socinus's Commentary on 1 John.—Samuel Przypcovius and Daniel Taszycki enter themselves as students in the University of Altorf, March 22nd.

Moscovius's Latin translation of "The Racovian Catechism" is publicly burnt in London, at the suggestion of Isaac Casaubon.

1615. Ruarus returns from Racow to Nuremberg and Altorf.—John Crellius publicly preaches his first sermon in the Polish language.—John Stoinius holds a disputation with a Jesuit at Lublin, Aug. 9th and 10th.—Theodore Simonis becomes a student in the University of Altorf, Aug. 11th, where he imbibes Antitrinitarian opinions.—Bartholomew Vigilus is employed in translating the works of Socinian writers from Polish into Latin.—An inquiry is made, by the Curators of the University of Altorf, into the religious opinions of the students.
1616. Ulric Herwart superintends the publication of the unedited works of Faustus Socinus.—John Mos-

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chovius is employed in disseminating Socinianism in Hungary.—John Crellius succeeds Paul Krokier as Rector of the College at Racow, which office he retains till 1621.—The Magistrates of Nuremberg take severe measures for suppressing the growth of Unitarianism in the University of Altorf.—Ruarus goes to Strasburg in the month of April, and is examined by Bechthold, Professor of Theology, and Taufrer, Rector of the University, as to his religious opinions.—Jonas Schlichtingius goes to the University of Altorf, April 30th, in the capacity of private tutor to Zbigneus Sieninius.—G. L. Leuchsner is given into custody at Nuremberg, on a charge of heresy; and disclaims all connexion, past or present, with the Socinians.—Ruarus leaves Strasburg about Midsummer.—John Stoinius holds a disputation on the Divinity of Christ, and the remission of sins obtained through him, with John Maria, an Italian Carmelite, in the Carmelite Church at Lublin, July 3rd.—Peter Statorius, (the third of that name,) and John Lunkwitz are commissioned, by the Church at Racow, to go to Altorf, Sept. 27th, and request that the Unitarian students, who have been forcibly detained, may be set at liberty.

1617. John Vogel and Joachim Peuschel renounce Unitarianism at Altorf, Jan. 25th.—Smalcus publishes a refutation of the arguments employed by these two young men in their retractations.—A conference is held at Gorlice, on the confines of Hungary, May 22nd, between the Unitarians and Evangelicals, at which Smalcus and Peter Lombardus act as Collocutors.—Smalcus, Moscorovius, John Stoinius, Paul and John Lubieniecius, Suchodolius, and other leading Socinians make another ineffectual attempt to bring about a union with the Evangelical party, at Belzycc.—Smalcus, John

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Lubieniecius, and John Stoinius, visit the Churches in Volhynia, in the month of October, on which occasion Christopher Siemiuta is admitted a member of the Socinian Church.

1618. Ruarus is appointed tutor to the sons of Caspar Sack, and travels with them through Germany, Holland, England and France.—John Crellius and Nicholas Dümler are ordained to the ministry among the Polish Socinians.—Michael Gittichius and John Licinius are prohibited, by royal authority, from exercising their ministerial functions at Novogrodek.—At a Dict, held in the reign of Gabriel Bethlen, it is decreed, that those of the Transylvanian Unitarians, who refuse to worship Jesus Christ, shall be deprived of their privileges.—The largest Synod ever known among the Polish Brethren is held at Racow, May 20th, on which occasion four hundred and fifty-nine members of the Church sit down to the Lord's Supper.—In accordance with a resolution, passed at the Synod of Racow, Smalcus and Adam Goslavius visit the Churches in Volhynia, in the months of September and October.—The famous Synod of Dort commences its sittings Nov. 13th.
1619. Many of the Remonstrant clergy in Holland are deprived of their livings; and, among them, not a few, who are favourable to the Unitarian doctrine,—Conrad Vorstius is deprived of his professorship at Leyden, and sent into exile.—The sect of Collegiants takes its rise in Holland.—Launcelot Van Brederode, Councillor of the Court of Holland, declines carrying out the decisions of the Synod of Dort respecting the Remonstrants, July 18th.—Daniel Franconius makes a fair copy, for publication, of Volkelius's celebrated work, "De Vera Religione."—A last attempt is made to form an alliance between the Socinians and Evangelicals,

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against Romanist oppression.—James Zaborowski publishes his treatise, entitled, “Fire and Water,” to which Smalcus replies.—Smalcus pays a third visit to the Churches in Volhynia, in the month of September. (Vide A.D. 1618, 1619.)—A second edition of “The Racovian Catechism” in the Polish language is published.

Ruarus is in England, and is strongly solicited to take up his residence at Cambridge, with the promise of a professorship, but rejects the tempting proposal.

1620. The Court of Holland, with the sanction of the States-General, deprives Launcelot Van Brederode of his office of Councillor, March 10th, for opposing the severe measures against the Remonstrants.—Voidovius sketches the outline of his “Triadomachia.”—John Geisteranus is invited to settle in Poland, but declines.—John Stoinius holds a disputation with John Maria, the Italian Carmelite, in the Carmelite Church at Lublin.—The Farnovian, or Arian party, after a long secession, again joins the main body of the Polish Brethren.

1621. Ruarus is appointed successor to John Crellius, as Rector of the College of Racow, in the month of May.—Augustus a Peyn joins the Unitarians, who are engaged on a missionary tour in Holland, and covertly assists in the propagation of their opinions.

1622. Conrad Vorstius dies, Sept. 29th, O.S., leaving a Confession of his Faith in the supremacy of God the Father.—John Geisteranus dies, Oct. 14th.—Smalcus dies at Racow, Dec. 8th.

1623. Ruarus resigns the office of Rector of the College at Racow.—He forms an intimacy with Grotius, whom he is said to have converted to the Unitarian faith.

1625. James I., King of England, dies, March 27th, and is succeeded by Charles I.

1626. Joachim Stegmann, Senior, holds a conference at

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- Spandau with John Berg, Jerome Braunemann, and Peter Vehr.
1627. Theodore Raphael Camphuysius, a zealous Dutch Antitrinitarian, and one of the most celebrated leaders of the sect of Collegiants, dies. — The Church of the Socinians, and those of the Evangelicals, or Reformed, at Lublin, are destroyed in a riot by the Roman Catholic rabble.
1628. Joachim Rupnovius commences his account of the Synodical Acts of the Unitarians of Poland and Transylvania, and brings it down to the year 1641.
1629. Theodore Simonis, having gone over to the Church of Rome, is vanquished in argument, at a public disputation, by Paul Müller at Halberstadt, Jan. 16th. — Jerome Moscorovius dies, July 19th.
1630. Volkelius's treatise, "De Vera Religione," after repeated delays, is at length published at Racow. — A resolution is passed by the Synod of Racow, enjoining Twardochleb to commit to writing an account of his journey into Muscovy, to visit the Czar Demetrius. (Vide A. D. 1605.) — John Crellius and Joachim Stegmann, assisted by Martin Ruarus, publish a German translation of the New Testament. — Adam Franck succeeds Joachim Stegmann, as Rector of the College at Racow. — Theodore Simonis publicly renounces Catholicism, and returns to the Protestant faith.
1631. Valentine Radecius dies. — Joachim Stegmann, Sen., succeeds Valentine Radecius, as Minister of the Saxon Church at Clausenburg. — John Crellius publishes his two Books, "De Uno Deo Patre." — Ruarus takes up his residence at Dantzic.
1632. Nicholas Antoine, an apostate from Christianity to Judaism, is strangled and burnt at Geneva, April 20th. — Sigismund III., King of Poland, dies April 6th; and Vladislav IV. is elected to succeed him, in the month of November following.

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1633. John Crellius dies, June 11th.—Martin Ruarus leaves Dantzic for a time, and goes to Racow, to carry out the labours which have been commenced by John Crellius.—Joachim Stegmann, Sen., publishes his "*Brevis Disquisitio*," in which he treats upon the best mode which the Reformed can adopt in their controversies with the Church of Rome.—He dies soon after the publication of this work, and is succeeded, as Minister of the Saxon Church at Clausenburg, by Adam Franck.—Peter Teichmann holds the office of Rector of the College at Racow for a short time, as successor to Adam Franck.—George Nigrinus accepts the same office, which he holds for one year.
1634. Laurence Stegmann succeeds George Nigrinus, as Rector of the College at Racow, and continues to hold this office, till the Socinians are driven from that town.—Eustace Gizelius is appointed Rector of the School at Kissielin.
1635. The revision of the Polish version of the New Testament is entrusted to Eustace Gizelius, John Stoinius and Jonas Schlichtingius.
1636. Samuel Przypcovius publishes his "*Life of Faustus Socinus*."
1637. Christopher Lubieniecius, Jun., holds a disputation at Lublin with Caspar Druzicki, the Jesuit.—Valentine Baumgartus is converted to the Unitarian faith by Martin Ruarus.
1638. Jonas Schlichtingius is sent, by the Synod of Racow, into Transylvania, to put a stop to a dispute, which has arisen on the office and dignity of Christ, and which brings the Unitarians of that country into danger of losing their privileges; and he is directed to instil gentler counsels into the minds of those, who seem inclined to treat the followers of Francis Davidis with undue severity.—Two students in the College of Racow, named Falibowski and Babi-

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necki, beat down a wooden crucifix in the suburbs of Racow, by throwing stones at it; and this act of youthful indiscretion leads to the expulsion of the Socinians from that town.—The Diet of Warsaw, at the instigation of the Roman Catholics, headed by Zadzik, Bishop of Cracow, enact a law, May 1st, by which it is resolved, that the College at Racow shall be demolished, its Professors banished with ignominy, the printing establishment of the Socinians destroyed, and their Churches closed.—Seven Curators and Directors of the Socinian body are appointed at the Synod of Kissielin.—The School at Kissielin is enlarged, and its curriculum extended, in consequence of the destruction of the College at Racow.—John Stoinius is proscribed, and compelled to seek refuge in a foreign land.

1639. Christopher Morstinus, with eleven other Polish Nobles and Magnates, intercedes with the Senate of Dantzic, March 1st, in behalf of Martin Ruarus, who has been threatened with banishment.—James Sieninius, the proprietor of Racow, dies; and Peter Morstinus delivers his funeral oration.—Krzyskievicius aids in the arrangement, and transcription of the "Triadomachia."
1640. Theodore Simonis, having professed himself an Anti-trinitarian, succeeds Peter Stegmann, as Rector of the School at Kissielin.—Valentine Baumgartus is compelled, through fear, to make a recantation of his Unitarian opinions at Königsberg, Aug. 25th, which Zeltner says is the only instance of the kind, through the whole of the seventeenth century, except those of John Vogel and Joachim Peuschel. (Vide A.D. 1617.)—Baumgartus makes his escape from Königsberg in the month of October, and goes into Poland.

John Webberley, who has the reputation of being a

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thorough Socinian, and a translator into English of Socinian books, takes his degree of B.D. at Oxford, Jan. 30th.—Seventeen new “Constitutions and Canons” are framed by a Church of England Synod, appointed by royal commission, the fourth of which is expressly directed against Socinianism, June 30th.—The House of Commons passes a resolution, condemnatory of the new “Constitutions and Canons,” Dec. 15th.—A tract is publicly sold in the streets of London, against bowing at the name of Jesus.

1641. Valentino Baumgartus and Ludwig Hohleisen are appointed Rectors of the School at Kissielin.

1642. Theodore Simonis publishes his Greek translation of Comenius’s “*Janua Linguarum*.”—Jeremiah Felbinger secretly joins the Unitarians.—Peter Morscovius composes his “*Politia Ecclesiastica*,” or Agenda of the Polish Brethren.

1643. Koniecpolski, Grand General of Poland, and a Roman Catholic, procures for Martin Ruarus the diploma of a Royal Secretary.—Florian Crusius is banished from the city of Dantzic, as a zealous propagator of Antitrinitarianism, but is allowed a year to settle his affairs, and dispose of his house.—Andrew Voidovius completes the first fair copy of his “*Triadomachia*.”

The Assembly of Divines meets at Westminster, July 1st.—Francis Cheynell publishes his “*Rise, Growth and Danger of Socinianisme*.”

1644. The “*Triadomachia*” receives valuable additions from the pen of Peter Morscovius, who is requested to transfer it to the hands of John L. Wolzogenius, that it may be sent to Jonas Schlichtingius.—The Schools and Churches of Kissielin and Beresteczko, in Volhynia, are abolished by a decree of the Tribunal, and the pupils and congregations dispersed. John Biddle is accused of heresy before the Magis-

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trates of Gloucester, May 2nd, and is required to deliver in a written Confession of Faith.—Unitarian Baptists are numerous at Bath and Bristol.—F. Cheynell publishes his “Chillingworthi Novissima.”

1645. Gittichius dies, after a life spent in the promotion of the Antitrinitarian cause.—The “Colloquium Charitativum,” a project for uniting the different religious communities in Poland, commences at Thorn, Aug. 29th.

The Rev. William Erbury, in a sermon at Bury St. Edmund's, advocates the doctrine of Universal Redemption, and rejects that of Original Sin.—The Parliamentary Commissioners at Gloucester commit John Biddle to prison, Dec. 2nd.

1646. Martin Ruarus is ordained, by the imposition of hands, at Daszow.—Calixtus tries to convert him to Lutheranism, but without success.—Gratian Kuroscius composes a treatise on Ecclesiastical Discipline.

The House of Commons, January 28th, orders Paul Best to be kept a close prisoner, and an ordinance to be brought in for punishing him with death, on account of his having denied the Trinity, and the Deity of Christ and the Holy Ghost.—The Committee of plundered Ministers is directed to draw up an ordinance for the punishment of Paul Best, Feb. 16th.—The Commons take his case into consideration, with a view to preferring a definite charge against him, and certain Divines are appointed to confer with him, March 28th.—He is brought to the bar of the House, a charge is preferred against him, and a day is set apart for taking his case into consideration, April 3rd.—Archbishop Usher, passing through Gloucester, on his way to London, in the month of June, holds a discussion with John Biddle about his religious opi-

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nions.—Episcopacy is abolished in England, Oct. 9th, and an attempt is made to introduce the Presbyterian form of Church Government.—The revenues arising from the episcopal sees in England are alienated, to pay the public debt, Nov. 16th.—The Rev. Thomas Edwards publishes the first part of his "Gangræna."

1647. Jonas Schlichtingius having published "A Confession of Faith," as held by the Unitarians in Poland, is banished by the Diet of Warsaw, and his book is publicly burnt.—J. L. Wolzogenius undertakes a journey into foreign countries, for the purpose of disseminating Unitarianism.

The Rev. Thomas Lushington publishes a "Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews," taken principally from that of Crellius and Schlichtingius.—John Biddle addresses a letter to Sir H. Vane, April 1st, requesting him to bring his case before the House of Commons.—He publishes his "Twelve Arguments touching the Holy Spirit," which is ordered by the House of Commons, April 8th, to be called in, and publicly burnt.—A parliamentary order is made, July 24th, to burn a pamphlet of Paul Best's, and to punish the printer.—The Presbyterian Ministers of London meet at Sion College, Dec. 14th, and protest against the errors, heresies and blasphemies of the times, and the toleration of them.—A visitation of the University of Oxford is appointed, in which John Webberley suffers much for his loyalty and heresy.

1648. Valentine Baumgartus is appointed Rector of the Unitarian School at Clausenburg.—John Jarai is the ninth Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania.—Vladislav IV., King of Poland, dies May 20th, and John Cassimir is elected his successor, Nov. 20th.—A proposition is made in the Polish Diet, but does not pass, that the Uni-

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tarians shall be deprived of the rights guaranteed to them, in common with other dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church.—George Niemiricius not being allowed to sign the Acts of the Polish Diet, at the election of John Cassimir, on the ground of his being an Antitrinitarian, joins the Greek Church, and invites others to follow his example.—John Arcissevius, and Christopher Crellius (Spinovius) are employed as missionaries for the dissemination of Unitarianism in foreign countries.

The first four books of Acontius's "*Satanæ Stragemata*" are translated into English, and published by John Goodwin, the Arminian Independent.—The Assembly of Divines appoints a committee to examine the contents of this work, and report concerning them.—John Webberley is committed to prison, April 17th.—An Ordinance, commonly called "the Draconic Ordinance," is issued, May 2nd, by the Lords and Commons of England, for the punishment of blasphemy and heresy.—The Rev. N. Estwick publishes a reply to Biddle's "*Twelve Arguments*."—Another reply to the same tract is published by the Rev. William Russell.—Biddle publishes "*A Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity according to Scripture*," and "*The Testimonies of Irenæus, &c. concerning that One God, and the Persons of the Holy Trinity*."—Colonel John Fry is sent to the House of Commons by the Independents.

1649. At the Assembly of Raszcow an abridgement of Gratian Kuroscius's work on the restoration of Church Discipline is ordered to be revised for publication. (Vide A.D. 1646.)

Charles I. is beheaded, Jan. 29th.—The Assembly of Divines at Westminster discontinues its sittings, Feb. 22nd.—Col. John Fry publishes "*The Accuser shamed*," in reply to Col. John Downes.

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1650. Samuel Przypciovius, Gratian Stoinius, Martin Ruarus, and John Arcissevius, Sen., are commissioned, by the Assembly of Czarcow, to revise Peter Morscovius's "Politia Ecclesiastica."

Francis Cheynell publishes his "Divine Trin-Unity."
—The Rev. T. Lushington publishes an English translation of John Crellius's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.—Col. John Fry publishes "The Clergy in their Colours."—The Rev. Samuel Eaton publishes his "Mystery of God Incarnate," in reply to John Knowles.

1651. Jonas Schlichtingius appears in public at Czarcow, and publishes a second edition of his "Confession of Faith." (Vide A. D. 1647.)—A new edition of Jerome Moscorovius's Latin translation of "The Racovian Catechism" is printed in London.—Daniel Zwicker embraces Unitarianism.

Certain passages in Col. John Fry's writings are pronounced "erroneous, profane, and highly scandalous," by the House of Commons; and he is deprived of his seat in Parliament in consequence.—F. Cheynell publishes "A Discussion of Mr. Fry's Tenents lately condemned in Parliament."—The Rev. Samuel Eaton publishes his "Vindication" against the attack of John Knowles.

1652. Cloppenburg publishes a reply in Latin to Biddle's "Twelve Arguments."—Stanislaüs Lubieniecius, Jun., makes additions to the "Triadomachia," or "Sylloge" of Voidovius.—An English translation of the Racovian Catechism is published at Amsterdam.

Biddle, after a long imprisonment, is restored to liberty by an Act of Oblivion, Feb. 10th.—The new edition of Moscorovius's Latin translation of "The Racovian Catechism" is ordered by the House of Commons to be burnt, April 2nd.

1653. Jeremiah Felbinger publishes a translation of Schlich-

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tingius's "Confession of Faith" from Latin into German.

Biddle publishes English translations of Joachim Stegmann's "Brevis Disquisitio," Przypcovius's "Vita Fausti Socini, Senensis," and the same writer's "Dissertatio de Pace et Concordia Ecclesiastica."—Cromwell is made Protector, Dec. 16th, and issues his "Instrument of Government."

1654. At the Assembly of Czarcow, Ruarus is instructed to make inquiries after Voidovius's "Triadomachia," and get it printed.—John Stoinius dies at Czarcow.—Jeremiah Felbinger writes to John Biddle, Aug. 24th (O. S.), to congratulate him on his accession to the Unitarian cause.—John Crellius, Jun., becomes the assistant of Martin Ruarus at Dantzic.

A vote is passed by the House of Commons, declaring that all shall be tolerated, who profess the fundamentals of Christianity.—A committee is appointed to determine, by the aid of certain Divines, what constitute "the fundamentals of Christianity."—Dr. Nicholas Gibbon makes a proposal to the Rev. R. Baxter for uniting all Christians in one body.—John Biddle publishes his "Twofold Catechism."—The Rev. Matthew Pool publishes "The Blasphemer slain," in reply to Biddle.—A committee of the House of Commons is appointed, Nov. 6th, to confer with the Protector, for the purpose of defining what is meant by the words "liberty of conscience."—A resolution is passed by the House of Commons, Dec. 11th, that to Bills touching "liberty of conscience" the Protector shall have a negative, but not to Bills "for the suppression of heresies."—Another resolution is passed, Dec. 12th, declaring Mr. Biddle's "Twofold Catechism" heretical and blasphemous; and ordering, that all copies of it

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which can be discovered shall be burnt in the New Palace Yard, Westminster, and at the Old Exchange.—Mr. Biddle is brought to the bar of the House of Commons, Dec. 13th, and on avowing himself the author of the “Twofold Catechism,” is committed to the Gate-House.

1655. At the Assembly of Czarcow, Martin Ruarus and John Crellius, Jun., are deputed to make inquiries respecting the “Triadomachia” among the descendants of Conrad Vorstius.—The Swedish army invades Poland, and the adjacent provinces.—Eustace Gizelius translates Schlichtingius’s “Confession of Faith” into the Russian language.—John Preussius is stationed at Meseritz, and becomes actively zealous in sowing the seeds of Unitarianism in Silesia, Lusatia, and the Marquisate of Brandenburg. A Bill is ordered to be brought into the House of Commons for punishing John Biddle, Jan. 16th.—Cromwell dissolves the Parliament, Jan. 22nd, and reproaches it for its persecuting spirit.—Biddle, and his printer and publisher, are liberated on bail, Feb. 10th.—They surrender to take their trial, May 2nd.—After several objections and delays, they are restored to liberty; and Biddle establishes a religious society on congregational principles.—He holds a public disputation with the Rev. John Griffin, a Baptist Minister, which brings him into fresh trouble.—He is apprehended by warrant from the Lord Mayor of London, July 5th, and committed first to the Poultry-Compter, and afterwards to Newgate, on a charge of blasphemy, preferred against him by the Rev. John Griffin.—Cromwell sends him to the Scilly Islands, Oct. 5th.—Dr. John Owen publishes his “*Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*,” which professes to contain a refutation of Biddle’s “Twofold Catechism,” and “The Racovian Catechism.”—Gilbert Clerke resigns his fellowship at

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Cambridge, and, from conscientious motives, declines taking his degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

1656. Stanislaus Lubieniecius, Jonas Schlichtingius, Andrew Wissowatius, and other Socinian leaders, place themselves under the protection of the Swedes at Cracow, April 6th.—Schlichtingius begins the composition of his Commentaries, May 18th.—Martin Ruarus, in conjunction with John Stoinius, and Joachim Stegmann, superintends the publication of the posthumous works of John Crellius, Sen.

The Rev. N. Estwick publishes a reply to Mr. Biddle's "Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity."—The Rev. N. Chewney publishes his "Anti-Socinianism."—Cromwell, on opening his new Parliament, Sept. 17th, plainly tells the members, that he will not allow one sect to tyrannize over another.

1657. The house of Andrew Wissowatius, Jun., is attacked by the rabble, and his library destroyed.—The Swedes surrender Cracow to the Poles, and Stanislaus Lubieniecius, Jonas Schlichtingius and And. Wissowatius leave that city, under the protection of a Swedish guard, Aug. 30th.—The Polish Unitarians are charged with disloyalty towards their country.—Martin Ruarus dies, and is buried at Strassin, near Dantzic.

The Rev. Edward Bagshawe publishes his "Dissertationes Dux Anti-Socinianæ."

1658. The Jesuit Karwat instigates the Polish Diet to expatriate the Polish Socinians; a decree of banishment is issued; and three years are allowed them for settling their affairs.—Joachim Pistorius and others profess themselves Catholics, in order to escape the miseries of exile.—Daniel Zwicker publishes his "Irenicum Irenicorum" at Amsterdam.

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John Biddle is brought up to London, in the spring, by a writ of "Habeas Corpus," after a banishment of nearly three years.—Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye and others draw up "the Savoy Confession."—Cromwell dies, Sept. 3rd, and is succeeded by his son Richard.

1659. Jonas Schlichtingius and Stan. Lubieniecus write a joint memorial at Stettin, April 20th, in behalf of the Polish Brethren.—The time for preparation allowed by the Diet is reduced from three to two years, and the Unitarians are ordered to leave Poland on the 10th of July, 1660.

A sub-committee of religion is appointed by the House of Commons, Feb. 7th, to inquire how Mr. Biddle came to be released.—Richard Cromwell is deposed May 6th.

1660. Jeremiah Felbinger publishes a German version of the New Testament, with various readings and parallel passages, Feb. 3rd, from the Greek text of Curcellæus.—A conference is held between the Roman Catholics and Unitarians at Roznow, March 10th—16th, at which Andrew Wissowatius takes the lead on the part of the Unitarians.—A decree is issued in the month of May, threatening with the utmost rigour of the law all Unitarians, who remain any longer in the Kingdom of Poland, or Grand Duchy of Lithuania.—Severin Morstinus undertakes the charge of those Unitarians, who lie concealed in Poland, after the decree of banishment.—Jonas Schlichtingius completes his Commentaries on the New Testament, Sept. 13th.—Peace is concluded between the Swedes and Poles at Oliva.

Charles II. begins to reign May 29th.

1661. Andrew Wissowatius returns to Poland at considerable hazard, to assist his persecuted brethren, who have not the means of leaving their country.—

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Stan. Lubieniecius, Jun., holds a conference with Jerome Mulmann the Jesuit, at Copenhagen, Feb. 12th.—Jonas Schlichtingius addresses his celebrated letter from Kreutzberg to the Unitarian exiles, June 17th.—John L. Wolzogenius dies at Breslau, Sept. 16th.—Schlichtingius dies in exile at Zullichau, Nov. 1st, at the age of sixty-nine.—Daniel Zwicker publishes the first part of his "Irenico-Mastyx."

The Corporation Act is passed.

1662. Andrew Lachovius is associated with Severin Morstinus in the care of those Unitarians, who remain in Poland after the exile. (Vide A. D. 1660.)—Daniel Lehocius is appointed, by the last Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Unitarians held in Poland, to take charge of the Brethren on the borders of Silesia.—Joachim Drozovius undertakes the pastoral charge of the congregation at Manheim.—Daniel Zwicker publishes the other two parts of his "Irenico-Mastyx." (Vide A. D. 1661.)—John Preussius and Stan. Lubieniecius are commissioned to undertake a journey to Fredericksbourg, to seek a union with the Arminians.

The Act of Uniformity is passed.—Mr. Firmin causes collections to be made for the Unitarian Polish exiles.—Mr. Biddle is apprehended in his own lodgings, while conducting divine worship in the presence of a few friends, June 1st.—He is indicted at common law, and sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned till the fine is paid.—He dies Sept. 22nd, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and is interred in the new Church-yard, Petty France, Moorfields.

1663. Samuel Przypcovius addresses a letter to John Næranus, Remonstrant Minister of Oudewater, in Holland, containing an account of the sufferings of the Polish Brethren from 1648 to 1658.—John Næra-

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nus is actively employed in watching over the interests of the Unitarians in Holland.—Francis Stano is sent as a delegate into Transylvania, to make arrangements for the settlement of a body of Polish exiles in that country.

1664. John Preussius is imprisoned, and sent to Custrin, on account of his zeal, as a Unitarian Missionary, in the Marquisate of Brandenburg.—Francis Kuyper publishes, in Folio, the theological works of his uncle, Daniel Brenius, which are usually regarded as a supernumerary volume of the "*Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*."—John Cassimir, the bitter enemy of the Polish Socinians, resigns the crown, and becomes Abbot of St. Germain de Prez.

Christopher Sandius, Jun., visits Oxford, and devotes himself to the study of such Antitrinitarian works as he is able to procure from the libraries of that University.—The Conventicle Act is passed.

1665. Daniel Jaskievicius has the charge of the foreign Socinians, residing in and near Königsberg, and labours zealously to promote the Socinian cause in Prussia.—Schlichtingius's Commentaries are published, in Folio, at Amsterdam.

The Oxford or Five-mile Act is passed.—Nathaniel Stuckey publishes a Latin translation of Biddle's "*Twofold Catechism*."—The plague desolates the city of London.—Nath. Stuckey dies.

1666. The Unitarians publish a Dutch translation of "*The Racovian Catechism*," made from a Latin edition, dated "post A. D. 1659," which Sandius supposes to have been the year 1665.—S. Przypcovich addresses an Apology for the Polish exiles to the Elector of Brandenburg, March 20th.—And. Wisowatius removes from Manheim to Amsterdam, where he spends the remainder of his life, principally in superintending the publication of the

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"*Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*," and preaching to the Unitarians congregated in that city.—Francis Kuyper prints the "*Bibl. Fratr. Polon.*," in 8 Vols. Fol., at Amsterdam.

Christopher Crellius visits England.—The great fire breaks out in London, Sept. 2nd.

1667. Stan. Lubieniecus, Jun., publishes his "*Theatrum Cometicum*."

1668. At the Assembly of Kreutzburg, Stan. Lubieniecus, Jun., is requested to finish the "*Triadomachia*," or "*Syntagma Locorum*," begun by Voidovius.—Christopher Sandius, Sen., is deprived of his offices, as Councillor of Brandenburg, and Secretary of the Supreme Government in Prussia, on account of his Arianism.—Christopher Crellius brings over two of his children to England, for the purpose of placing them under the care of Mrs. Stuckey, who has undertaken the responsibility of their education.

William Penn publishes his "*Sandy Foundation shaken*," for which he is committed to the Tower of London.

1669. Christopher Sandius, Jun., publishes the first, or 8vo edition of his "*Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*."

The Conventicle Act, having expired, is renewed without any limitation as to time.—William Penn publishes an Apology, under the title of "*Innocency with her open Face*." He is liberated from prison, through the intercession of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

1670. Samuel Przypcovius dies on the borders of Prussia, June 19th, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

1673. Valentine Baumgartus dies, aged sixty-three.

The Test Act is passed.

1674. John Milton dies, Nov. 8th, and leaves in the hands of Mr. Skinner, Merchant, his "*Treatise on Christian Doctrine*."

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1675. Stan. Lubieniecus, Jun., dies at Hamburg, May 18th, from the effects of poison.
1676. Christopher Sandius, Jun., publishes the second, or 4to edition of his "*Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*."
1677. Christopher Sandius, Jun., holds a conference with Daniel Zwicker on the preëxistence of Christ. William Penn, and other Friends, hold a conference with Galen Abrahamz, the founder of the sect of Galenists.
1678. And. Wissowatius dies at Amsterdam, July 29th, aged seventy.—Daniel Zwicker dies at Amsterdam, Nov. 10th.
1680. A new edition of "The Racovian Catechism," in 4to, is printed by Christopher Pezold, at Amsterdam.—Daniel Mark Szentivani is appointed Rector of the College at Clausenburg, and Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania.—Christopher Sandius, Jun., dies at Amsterdam, Nov. 30th.—Christopher Crellius dies, on his way from Poland into Silesia, Dec. 12th.
- The Rev. George Ashwell publishes his work, "*De Socino et Socinianismo*."—Mr. Firmin commences his benevolent exertions on behalf of the French Protestants, which extend over a period of fourteen years.
1681. Mr. Firmin assists in procuring contributions for the Polish Protestants.
1682. At the Assembly of Andreaswalde, it is determined, that the ecclesiastical discipline, in the celebration of divine worship by the Antitrinitarians, shall be regulated by the rules laid down in John Stoinius's work, "*On Ecclesiastical and Congregational Reform*."
- The Rev. John Cooper, Minister of the Unitarian congregation at Cheltenham, dies March 18th.—John Farrington, Barrister, publishes a *Life of John Biddle* in Latin.

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1684. Benedict Wissowatius, Jun., publishes Sandius's "Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum."
1685. Louis XIV. revokes the Edict of Nantes.—Stan. Lubieniecius's "Historia Reformationis Polonicæ" is published at Amsterdam.
Charles II. dies, Feb. 6th, and is succeeded by James II.—The Parliament presents an address to James II., urging him to put in force the penal laws against Dissenters, May 27th.—Dr. Bull publishes his "Defensio Fidei Nicænæ."
1687. Jeremiah Felbinger settles at Amsterdam, and supports himself by keeping a school, and correcting the press.
Mr. Firmin causes to be written "A Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians," which is published in 4to.
1689. Paul Bedo succeeds Daniel Mark Szentivani, as Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania.
James II. is formally deposed, Jan. 22nd, and William III. appointed his successor.—The Toleration Act is passed in the month of May.—William III. issues a commission to ten Bishops, and twenty Divines, Sept. 13th, authorizing them to suggest such alterations in the Liturgy and Canons of the Church of England, as may be deemed expedient.—Mr. Firmin is appointed one of the commissioners for dispensing the contributions made on behalf of the Irish Protestants.—A friendship springs up between Newton and Locke, which leads to a correspondence on theological subjects.—The Rev. Thomas Emlyn takes up his residence at Lowestoft, and forms an acquaintance with the Rev. William Manning, with whom he afterwards studies the Unitarian controversy.
1690. Newton places his "Historical Account of two notable Corruptions of Scripture" in the hands of

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Locke, with a view to its publication.—Dr. Arthur Bury is deprived of the rectorship of Lincoln College, for publishing his work, called “The Naked Gospel.”—The “Brief History of the Unitarians” is reprinted in 4to. (Vide A. D. 1687.)—Another tract appears, under the title of “Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius,” which, together with the preceding, leads to the celebrated Unitarian controversy.—Dr. Sherlock publishes his “Vindication of the Trinity and Incarnation,” in reply to the two preceding tracts.—Dr. John Wallis commences his series of “Letters” in explanation of the Trinity.

1691. Michael Kovendi succeeds Paul Bedo, as Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania. An attempt is made to form a union between the Presbyterian and Independent bodies, which is abandoned as impracticable, after a trial of three years, owing to doctrinal differences.—The principal controversial works of Biddle are reprinted in 4to.
1692. Many of the works of S. Przypcovius are collected and published in Folio, so as to form a supplementary volume to the “Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum.”—Michael Amasi succeeds Michael Kovendi, as Superintendent of the Transylvanian Churches.
1693. A vote is passed by the House of Commons, Jan. 3rd, declaring W. Freeke’s “Brief but clear Confutation of the Doctrine of the Trinity” an infamous and scandalous libel, and ordering it to be publicly burnt.—Symptoms of declining orthodoxy begin to shew themselves among the English Presbyterians and Baptists.—W. Freeke is sentenced to pay a fine of £500, to give bail for his good behaviour during the next three years, and to make a public recantation.—Dr. South becomes a party

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in the Trinitarian controversy, by publishing "Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the Trinity and Incarnation."—Archbishop Tillotson publishes his "Four Sermons on the Divinity and Incarnation of our blessed Saviour."

1694. Samuel Crellius visits England.—Gilbert Clerke's "Ante-Nicenisimus" is published.—Whiston's acquaintance with Newton commences.—The Rev. John Howe begins to take part in the Unitarian controversy.—The Presbyterians and Independents, after the failure of the attempt at union, begin to act separately with respect to their denominations.—Archbishop Tillotson dies in the month of November.—Locke studies the Scriptures, with a view to ascertain what they teach respecting God and Jesus Christ, and settles down a confirmed Antitrinitarian.
1695. John Smith, author of "A designed End to the Socinian Controversy," is compelled to recant, Jan. 23rd.—Gilbert Clerke's "Brevis Responsio" to Bull's "Defensio Fidei Nicenæ" makes its appearance.—Locke publishes his "Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures," which is violently attacked by Dr. John Edwards.—The Rev. Joseph Bingham, M. A., preaches his celebrated tritheistical sermon before the University of Oxford, Oct. 28th.—The convocation of the University of Oxford publishes a decree, censuring Mr. Bingham's doctrine as false, impious and heretical, Nov. 25th.
1696. William III. issues directions to the Archbishops and Bishops, for the preserving of unity in the Church, and the support of the Christian faith concerning the Holy Trinity, Feb. 3rd.—Newton is appointed Warden of the Mint.—Thomas Aikenhead, a student in the University of Edinburgh, is tried, and pronounced guilty of railing against the

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- Trinity, and scoffing at the Holy Scriptures, Dec. 23rd.
1697. Samuel Crellius makes another visit to England.—Thomas Aikenhead is hung at the Gallowlee, between Leith and Edinburgh, Jan. 8th.—Hopton Haynes, author of the “Scripture Account of the Attributes of God,” obtains a situation in the Mint.—Bishop Stillingfleet attacks Mr. Locke in “A Discourse in Vindication of the Trinity.”—The Rev. Samuel Bolde becomes the zealous defender of Mr. Locke from the attacks of Dr. Edwards.—John Gailhard publishes “The Blasphemous Socinian Heresy disproved and confuted,” in which he urges the two Houses of Parliament to pass a law for the suppression of heresy and blasphemy.—The Dissenters, in an address to William III., entreat him to stop the press against the Unitarians.—Mr. Firmin dies, Dec. 20th.
1698. The House of Commons petitions the King to give orders for the suppression of all pernicious books and pamphlets, containing attacks upon the Trinity, and fundamental articles of the Christian faith; and for the punishment of the authors of such books and pamphlets, Feb. 17th.—A Divine of the Church of England publishes “The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy concerning the Unity of God.”—The Blasphemy Act is passed.
1699. Newton is appointed Warden of the Mint, and Whiston becomes his deputy at Cambridge, with all the emoluments arising from the professorship.—Dr. Allix publishes “The Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians.”
1700. The Rev. Matthew Smith, a Presbyterian Divine of the North of England, attacks the doctrine of imputed righteousness, which is lamented by many of his brethren, as opening the way for other innovations.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

VOL. I.

F

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF RELIGIOUS PARTIES, AND A SKETCH OF
THE PROGRESS OF UNITARIANISM IN ENGLAND,

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE principal cause, to which the introduction of Unitarianism into England may be attributed, is the sympathy felt for the persecuted Baptists of Holland. About the year 1535, soon after the death of John Van Geelen, one of their leaders, many of them sought refuge in England, where they spread their opinions, and gradually increased, till they formed a considerable party.* The laws against heretics had been relaxed in the year preceding, by the repeal of 2 Hen. IV., which enacted, "that, if any persons were suspected of heresy, the ordinary might detain them in prison till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their errors; provided always, that the proceedings against them were publicly ended within three months. If they were convicted, the Diocesan, or his Commissary, might imprison them at discretion. Those that refused to abjure their errors, or after

* *Lamy, Histoire du Socinianisme*, P. i. Chap. xxviii. pp. 126, 127.

abjuration relapsed, were to be delivered over to the secular power ; and the Mayors, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs, were to be present, (if required,) when the Bishop, or his Commissary passed sentence ; and after sentence they were to receive them, and in some high place burn them to death before the people." There was no mention in this, or in any other act, relating to the punishment of heretics, of a writ, or warrant from the King "de Hæretico comburendo." The Sheriff might carry the sentence of the Bishop or his Commissary, into execution, without waiting for the royal warrant.* But by the new law, passed in the 25th of Henry VIII., (A. D. 1534,) the execution of the sentence could not take place, without the King's warrant being first obtained. This Act directed also, that heretics should thenceforward be tried, according to the forms of law ; and was deemed a great boon, by those who were favourable to the Protestant cause. It took a very formidable power from the Church, and lodged it in the hands of the civil magistrate.† The persecuted Baptists of Holland were probably aware of this ; and many of them, after the utter failure of the projects of their fanatical leaders, left their native country, and sought an asylum in England.

But they had not been long in this country, before they found, that the law, even in its amended shape, was armed with sufficient terrors to reach them. *Stowe* informs us,‡ that on the 24th of Nov., 1538, four Anabaptists,—three men, and one woman,—

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. I. Ch. i. pp. 6, 7.

† *Neal*, Vol. I. Ch. i. pp. 14, 15.

‡ *Annals*, Ed. 1631.

all bare faggots at Paul's Cross; and that on the 27th of November, in the same year, a man and a woman, — Dutch Anabaptists, — were "brent" in Smithfield.* He further tells us,† that on the 29th of April, 1540, a person named Mandeveld, another named Colens, and a third whose name he does not give, were examined in St. Margaret's Church, and condemned for Anabaptists; and that they were "brent" on the highway, beyond Southwark, towards Newington, on the 3rd of May following.

These, however, were not the only Baptists, who suffered for their religious opinions under Henry VIII. It appears, that no fewer than twenty-six were burnt during this reign; but whether it was for denying the validity of Infant Baptism, or impugning the doctrine of the Trinity, is uncertain. Be this as it may, however, the opinions of the "Anabaptists" were deemed so obnoxious, that they were excepted from an Act of Grace, passed in the year 1538.‡

At the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., when greater liberty began to be allowed in religious matters than had been enjoyed during the reign of his father, many new opinions were advanced, and defended, not only in private conversation, and public discussions, but also through the medium of the press. These opinions, however, were not long permitted to be broached with impunity.

* P. 576.

† P. 579.

‡ Monthly Repository, 1819, p. 96.

In the year 1548, Cranmer put forth certain "Articles to be enquired of in Visitations within the Diocess of Canterbury;" and one of the inquiries, directed to be made, was, "Whether any have wilfully maintained and defended any Heresics, Errours, or false Opinions, contrary to the faith of Christ, and holy Scripture."* These Articles were soon followed by active measures for suppressing the growth of heresy.

Among the "heresies vented abroad" at this time, *Strype* enumerates the following. 1, A denial of the doctrine of the Trinity; 2, the assertion, that Jesus Christ was a mere man, and not true God, because he had the accidents of human nature, such as hungering and thirsting, and being visible; and, 3, the doctrine, that the only benefit which men receive from Jesus Christ consists in their being brought to the true knowledge of God. All these notions were held by one JOHN ASSHETON,† a priest of that time; but being called to account for the profession of them, he made a formal recantation, and thus saved himself from any penal consequences, which might otherwise have ensued. This was in the year 1548.‡

On the 12th of August, 1549, a complaint was brought to the Privy Council, that along with certain strangers, who had come over into England, there were some of the Anabaptist persuasion, who were disseminating their errors, and busying themselves in the attempt to make proselytes. A com-

* A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c., 2nd Ed., 1671, p. 31.

† Vide *Art.* 27.

‡ *Strype's Memorials of Abp. Cranmer*, Bk. ii. Ch. viii. pp. 178, 179.

mission was accordingly appointed without delay, for the purpose of searching after, and examining all Anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the Common Prayer. This commission consisted of twenty-five persons, and was composed partly of clergymen, and partly of laymen. At the head of it was Archbishop Cranmer; and three of the members constituted a quorum. They were empowered to inquire concerning heretical delinquency; to search out, and call for papers in evidence; to swear and examine witnesses; and, in cases of urgency, to dispense with the usual modes of judicial procedure, and to have recourse to all ways, methods, and forms, by which they could more easily, and effectually promote the objects of the crown in issuing the commission. Such as abjured their errors were to be restored; and suitable penances were to be appointed for them. But those who proved refractory were to be consigned, without mercy, to the arm of the civil power. In order still further to facilitate the end in view, the Commissioners were authorized to call before them all suspected persons; and to commit to prison all, who in any way obstructed them in the progress of their inquiries.* "Such," says the author of a sketch of Protestant persecution, inserted in the seventh volume of the *Monthly Repository*,† and drawn up with great care and judgment,—“Such was the formidable engine of oppression of which the English Protestant reformers now accepted the use, or rather which they had prepared for their own purpose; as it would be

* *Rymer's Fœdera*, xv. 181, apud *Mon. Rep.* 1812, pp. 223, 224.

† *A. D.* 1812, p. 224.

unfair to fix upon the memory of the royal child the deep disgrace of this sanguinary commission."

The number of executions, which took place under the commission of 1549, must have been considerable, although history is almost silent respecting them. Latimer, in his fourth sermon before Edward VI., says, "the Anabaptists that were burnt here, in many towns in England, as I heard of credible men, (I saw them not myself,) went to their death, as we will say, without any fear in the world, cheerfully." But he adds, in a spirit which does him little honour, "Well! let them go;" and compares them with "another kind of poisoned heretics, called Donatists," who "went to their execution, as though they should have gone to some jolly recreation or banquet, to some belly cheer, or to a play."*

Burnet divides the Anabaptists of this time into two classes; some only objecting to the baptism of infants, and to the mode of administering that rite, by sprinkling, instead of dipping, while others held many opinions, which had been condemned as heresies in ancient times. Those of the former class were regarded as comparatively harmless; but the latter were sought out with avidity, and punished with extreme rigour. Some, with the terrors of the law hanging over them, made a formal recantation. Others evinced more firmness; and could not be prevailed upon, either by threats or punishment, to renounce their most cherished convictions.

Among the latter class was the celebrated JOAN

* *Latimer's Sermons*, 1758, II. 140, apud Mon. Rep. 1812, p. 305.

BOCHER, sometimes called JOAN OF KENT. She was charged with denying, that Christ took flesh of the substance of his mother, which is a species of Gnosticism. It is difficult to ascertain the precise nature of her opinions; and, on this account, she does not form the subject of a separate article in the body of this work. But that opinions nearly allied to hers, if not identical with them, were held by some of the Dutch Baptists, who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, may be seen in the account of HERMANN VAN FLEKWYK.* The King hesitated to affix his signature to the warrant for the execution of Joan Bocher. He thought it hard, to consign a poor creature to the flames, merely for holding a speculative opinion, which might, perchance, be the offspring of a disordered brain. But his scruples were overruled by Cranmer; and when he signed the warrant, he did it with tears in his eyes, declaring, that he yielded entirely to the judgment of the Archbishop, at whose door the sin, if any, must lie.† This heroic woman, (for heroic she was in the best sense of the term,) whatever her errors may have been, was worthy of a better fate. She had been a zealous disperser of Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament; and was herself a diligent student of the sacred writings. In order to ensure the greater secrecy, she was in the habit of tying copies of Tyndale's version with strings under her apparel, and so passing with them into court. When sentence of death was pronounced against her, for

* Vide *Art.* 83.

† *Burnet's* Abridgement of the Hist. of the Ref. of the Church of England. London, 1718. Vol. II. Bk. ii. pp. 80, 81.

denying that Christ took flesh of the virgin, she said to her judges, "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long since you burned Anne Ascue for a piece of bread; and yet came yourselves soon after to believe, and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh; and in the end, you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures, and understand them." When she was led to Smithfield, and Dr. Scory endeavoured to convert her, she bantered him; charged him with falsehood; and told him to let her alone, and go home, and read the Scriptures.*

The Baptists, against whom the commission of 1549 was principally directed, exhibited a great fondness for disputation; and the generality of them, including many even of those who were sound on the subject of the Trinity, called in question the doctrine of Original Sin. There was one Robert Cooke, a person of courtly manners, and some learning, who at this time held the office of keeper of the wine-cellar to the King, and was in habits of intimacy with Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter; with Dr. Turner, Physician to the Duke of Somerset; and with other learned men, who frequented the court. This Cooke was not only an uncompromising advocate of Adult Baptism, but a strenuous denier of the doctrine of Original Sin; and Dr. Turner, whom Anthony Wood calls "a noted and forward Theologist, and Physician of his

* *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* Vol. II. Bk. i. Ch. xxvi. p. 214.

time,"* wrote a treatise against him, entitled, "A Preservative or Triacle against the poison of Pelagius, lately renewed, and stirred up again by the furious Sect of the Anabaptists. Lond. 1551," 12mo.† This treatise was dedicated to Latimer, and ushered into the world by some Latin verses; but it does not appear to have had the effect of changing Cooke's opinions, or depriving him of his situation in the palace. He was alive, and in the service of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1573, as one of the gentlemen of the royal chapel.‡

Ridley, who had been consecrated Bishop of Rochester, Sept. 5th, 1548, and on the deprivation of Bonner, translated to the See of London, at the beginning of October, 1549,§ took an early opportunity of shewing his zeal for the Protestant cause, by issuing "Articles to be enquired of in the Visitation of the Diocess of London." These Articles, which were "imprinted at London by Reynold Wolfe, MDL.," were not confined to inquiries respecting images, shrines, candles, and other relics of popery. Inquisition was directed to be made, "whether any of the Anabaptists' Sect, or other, use notoriously any unlawful or private Conventicles, wherein they do use Doctrine, or Administration of the Sacraments, separating themselves from the rest of the Parish," and "whether any speaketh against Baptism of Infants."||

* Athen. Oxon. Ed. 1721, Vol. I. No. 177, f. 154.

† *Strype's Hist. Mem.* Vol. II. Bk. i. Ch. ix. pp. 70, 71.

‡ *Strype*, ubi supra.

§ *Mem. of Abp. Cranmer*, Bk. ii. Ch. xi.

|| *Collect. of Articles*, p. 36.

The number of "sectaries" in Essex and Kent at this time was very considerable. These were the first Dissenters from the Church of England; and had separate congregations at Bocking, Feversham, and other places. They are said to have held the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians; and, if we may judge from the names of their leaders, fifteen of which have been preserved,* consisted principally, if not solely, of Englishmen. "Arianism," says *Strype*,† (meaning by that term Antitrinitarianism under any of its forms,) "now shewed itself so openly, and was in such danger of spreading further, that it was thought necessary to suppress it, by using more rugged methods than seemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the professors of the Gospel."

Foreigners, as we have already seen, had sought an asylum from persecution in England, as early as the reign of Henry VIII.; and soon after the accession of his son, Edward VI., their number had considerably increased. They are usually denominated "the Strangers," by the historians of those times; and many of them were Baptists, of different shades of sentiment, as regards doctrinal points, though agreeing generally on the subject of Baptism. But it was not till the year 1547, that foreign Protestants of any description were allowed to hold separate public meetings for religious worship within the realm of England. *Strype* places "the beginning of the Strangers' Church at Canterbury" in that year; and says, that it was established under

* Eccles. Mem. Vol. II. Bk. i. Ch. xxix. p. 236.

† Ch. xxvi. p. 214, A.D. 1550.

the auspices of Archbishop Cranmer.* About three years afterwards, a Church, consisting principally of German refugees, was formed in London, under the superintendence of John a Lasco, assisted by four other Ministers; and, as a mark of special favour, three hundred and eighty foreigners, belonging to this Church, were made denizens of England.† By letters patent from the King, bearing date July 24th, 1550, the Church of the Augustin Friars was granted for their use;‡ and considerable latitude was allowed them, with regard to forms and ceremonies. Nor was there a perfect agreement of opinion among them on doctrinal points. The majority were probably believers in the Trinity; for Melanchthon, in a letter addressed to John a Lasco, Sept. 1551, speaks of the purity of doctrine in his Churches. Yet there were individual members of the Church at Augustin Friars, who differed from the rest of their brethren. This led to feuds and dissensions; and their disputes were at length carried so high, that it was thought desirable to refer their differences to the Privy Council.§ One of their number was excommunicated on the ground of heresy; and shortly afterwards attested the sincerity of his profession by a public martyrdom. He is represented as belonging to the more zealous class of Anabaptists. His name was GEORGE VAN PARRIS.|| *Fox* calls him “Germanus Moguntinus,”

* Hist. Mem. Vol. II. Bk. i. Ch. x. p. 78.

† *Neal*, A. D. 1550.

‡ *Rymer's Fœd.* xv. 242, apud Mon. Rep. 1812, p. 439.

§ *Strype's Mem. of Abp. Cranmer*, p. 236.

|| *Vide Art.* 28.

—a German of the city of Mentz ; and he probably was either born at that place, or resided there before his settlement in England. The offence charged against him was simply that of denying the divinity of Christ, and affirming that the Father only is God. The distinction between his alleged heresy, and that for which Joan Bocher had previously suffered, is well marked by *Fox*, who says, “*Germanus de divina Christi essentia ; altera de humanitate.*”*

In 1552, a commission was directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and other worshipful persons in Kent, to make inquiry after sundry heresies lately sprung up, and for the examination and punishment of erroneous opinions ; chiefly, as it would seem, if not entirely, those of the Baptists and Arians, some of whom still continued to make open profession of their doctrines, notwithstanding the severe measures which had been instituted against them.† This year is also famous for having given birth to the “Articles of the Church of England,” originally forty-two in number, but afterwards reduced to forty, and ultimately to thirty-nine. The express object, with which they were framed, was “to root out the discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion.” In a letter of Archbishop Cranmer’s, dated Nov. 24th, and addressed “to the Lords of the Council,” His Grace requests, that their Lordships will prevail with the King, that all Bishops shall be authorized to enforce subscription to them

* *Commentarii*, p. 202, apud *Mon. Rep.* 1812, p. 438.

† *Strype’s Eccles. Mem.* Vol. II. Book ii. Ch. xv. p. 365.

by their respective clergy; "And than I trust," writes he, "that such a concorde and quyetness in religion shal shortely follow thereof, as ells is not to be loked for many years."* How egregiously these Articles have failed to answer the purpose for which they were framed, and to realize the predictions of the Archbishop, the subsequent history of religion in this country amply testifies.

The King died on the 6th of July, 1553, soon after the Articles were made public. He was not spared to see the fruits of this notable expedient of Cranmer's, for securing unanimity of opinion among the clergy, and binding down, not that generation only, but their posterity for ever, in the chains of mental thralldom.

When Edward VI. was snatched away by death, the Primate of all England was in the midst of his plans for bringing about a uniformity of opinion among the Christians of this country. Had the youthful monarch's life been spared a few years longer, Cranmer himself might have lived to see the futility of his own schemes. But Providence had otherwise ordained. Edward was carried off by consumption on the 6th of July, 1553; and Cranmer did not long survive him. The former, during his brief reign, was a mere puppet in the hands of the Archbishop; and was often called upon to lend his sanction to measures, at which his own simple and unsophisticated nature recoiled. The number of Protestant martyrdoms during the reign of Edward,

* *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* Vol. II. p. 273. App. No. lxiv. p. 158.

it is true, was not great ; but it was sufficiently large to awaken a feeling of regret in every well constituted mind, that this young and amiable Prince should have been in any way implicated in them.

Humphrey Middleton, a Baptist teacher, with some others of the same persuasion, was in prison at the time of Edward's death ; and when upon the point of being condemned by Cranmer, and his fellow Commissioners, he said, " Well, Reverend Sir, pass what sentence you think fit upon us ; but that you may not say you were not forewarned, I testify that your own turn will be next ! " And so it proved, as Fox the Martyrologist remarks : for in a short time after, Middleton and his companions were liberated, and the Bishops were thrown into prison.* Cranmer, who acted with such severity towards the Baptists and Arians, met with a fearful retribution ; for he was himself burnt as a heretic in the reign of Mary.

The principle upon which he acted, in the day of his power, was, " recantation or the stake."† If the unhappy person, to whom this dreadful alternative was offered, would forswear himself, and renounce, in a set form of words, his inmost convictions, he was released ; but if he declined to abjure his presumed errors, death was his inevitable portion. When Cranmer's own turn came, he made a formal recantation of his Protestantism, in the expectation, no doubt, that his life would be spared ; and that he would himself be treated as he had treated others.

* *Peirce's Vind. of the Dissenters*, in Answer to Dr. Nichols, Pt. i. p. 35.

† *Mon. Rep.* 1812, p. 443.

But his recantation was not accepted. The Queen was inexorable ; and he was led to the stake, March 21st, 1555. In the few remaining moments of his life, he made the only reparation in his power for this act of insincerity, and cowardice. He publicly acknowledged his fault ; and exhorted the bystanders to remain faithful in the profession of that righteous cause, of which he had proved himself so inconsistent and unworthy an advocate.

Soon after Mary ascended the throne, she issued a Proclamation, in which she forbade all assemblies of the people, and announced her intention to punish with severity all attempts to stir up a feeling of dissatisfaction by means of such assemblies. *Strype* quotes only a part of this Proclamation, which was dated Aug. 18th, 1553 ; and which, as he justly remarks, "had more of rigor than mercy, and administered much more of fear and jealousy, than of hope to the professors of the Gospel."* A complete copy of it is preserved in *Fox's* "Acts and Monuments."† Its composition was attributed to Gardiner ; and its tenor was such as to leave no doubt, as to the principles, on which Mary's government was to be conducted.

Before the expiration of the year 1553, all foreigners were ordered to quit the kingdom ; and this has been pronounced the only equitable, and considerate act, regarding religious matters, which was performed during this bloody reign. Some of the most eminent among the continental reformers, who had sought an asylum from persecution in England

* Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. Ch. iii. pp. 25, 26.

† P. 1280.

during the reign of Edward, now found it expedient to retrace their steps, and go elsewhere, in search of toleration and protection. Among these were Peter Martyr, Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ-Church, Oxford; and John a Lasco, of whom mention has already been made, as Minister of the Strangers' Church, in Augustin Friars.* Both these learned men, and eminent confessors, became widowers, during their short sojourn in England; and such was the miserable bigotry of the Catholic party, that the remains of Peter Martyr's wife were ordered to be removed from the consecrated ground in which they had been deposited, and consigned to a dunghill.† OCHINUS, another of "the Strangers" included in Mary's proscription,‡ had come to England, with Peter Martyr, in 1547; and after preaching to a congregation of Italian refugees in London, had been made a Prebendary of Canterbury, and signified his intention of spending the remainder of his days in England. He was compelled, however, to abandon this intention, and share the fate of his friend. *Lamy* says, that he preached a refined species of Arianism, which excited the attention of the lovers of novelty, of whom there was then a great number; and that he was even so bold as to make an open profession of his opinions.||

For the better suppressing of heresy throughout England, letters were sent from the Queen to all Justices of the Peace, commanding them to appre-

* *Neal*, Vol. I. Ch. iii. pp. 86, 87.

† *Melch. Adami Theologor. Exterior. Vitæ*. N. iv.

‡ *Vide Art.* 12.

|| *Histoire du Socinianisme*, P. i. Ch. xxviii. p. 127.

hence all impugnors of the Catholic doctrines, and send them to their respective Diocesans, to be reclaimed, or consigned to the hands of the executioner.* Protestants were dealt with as the worst of malefactors.† The importation, as well as the printing and vending of heretical books, was strictly prohibited; and any one, who was in possession of such books, was required to deliver them up to the Ordinary of the diocese, or his Chancellor or Commissary, on pain of the statute made in the reign of Hen. IV., for suppressing heresy.‡ Ecclesiastical commissions and visitations were appointed, not only for the whole kingdom, but for particular localities, where heresy was supposed to be most rife;§ and though the exact number of Protestants, who fell victims to the tyranny of this reign, cannot now be computed, it was fearfully numerous, and amounted to at least some two or three hundred.|| Several abjured and recanted, who had not strength of mind sufficient to carry them through the terrors of martyrdom.¶ But historians relate, that the more persecution increased, the less it was dreaded; and as it was said of the early Christians, that “the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church,” so, in the reign of Mary, the examples of constancy, which men and women so frequently had before their eyes, while it encouraged Protestants to remain steadfast to their principles, led the more sober and reflecting among the Catholics to doubt, whether a religion,

* *Strype's E. M.* Vol. III. Ch. xxvii. p. 217.

† Ch. xxxi. p. 238.

‡ Ch. xxxii. p. 250.

§ Ch. xxix. p. 289; xlii. 340, 341; xlix. 382; lxi. 452. 454.

|| Ch. lxiv. pp. 473—478.

¶ Ch. xli. p. 331.

which it was thought expedient to support by such cruelties, and at such an expense of human suffering, could be pleasing in the sight of God.*

In the reign of Edward, those who declined to conform to the rites of the Church of England, had been divided into the two classes of heretics and Papists. But in the reign of Mary, all who did not join the Catholics were ranked indiscriminately among heretics: for it was then deemed as much a heresy to reject Transubstantiation, as to deny the Trinity. The majority of those, who were burnt as heretics under Mary, were probably Trinitarians. Their heresy consisted in denying the Pope's supremacy; or in rejecting the doctrine of Transubstantiation; or in questioning some one or other of the peculiar dogmas of the Romish Church. Yet there were Antitrinitarians, who underwent persecution, and even suffered death, in this reign, on account of their religious opinions.

On the 29th of August, 1555, one PATRICK PATINGHAM was burnt at Uxbridge, on a charge of Arianism.† In the reign of Mary also was living in London CHRISTOPHER VIRET,‡ who is mentioned in laudatory terms by the ministers of Poland and Transylvania, in their work "Concerning the true Knowledge of God." Contemporary with him was HENRY NICOLAI, founder of the sect, called "The Family of Love." After having preached for some time in Holland, this heresiarch came to England about the year 1556, and made several converts

* Ch. lxii. pp. 455. 462.

† Vide *Art.* 29.

‡ Vide *Art.* 30.

among the common people.* He took up some of the fanatical opinions of David George; boasted of having received revelations from the angel Gabriel; and asserted that he had penetrated into the holy of holies, while Moses and Jesus Christ did not so much as enter into the holy place. He taught, that Christ is not God, and that it is ridiculous to say, "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost," since this is to assert that there are three Gods.† The learned *Dr. Henry More* has devoted several Chapters, in his "*Magni Mysterii Pietatis Explanatio*,"‡ to a confutation of his opinions. His works, which were translated from Dutch into English, were burnt by the common hangman;§ and the German version shared the same fate as the English, so that the writings of Nicolai are now rarely to be met with.||

Strype, in his "*Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*,"¶ has some curious remarks on the condition and behaviour of the Protestants, while in prison; in the course of which he informs us, that they did what lay in their power to keep up a zeal for the Protestant religion, among those of its professors who were still at large; and to whom they addressed letters of instruction and advice, as opportunity served. But they were not always in a state of harmony among themselves. There were many,

* *Lamy*, *Hist. du Socin.* P. i. Ch. xxviii. pp. 127, 128.

† *Sandii Nucleus* H. E., L. iii. p. 427.

‡ L. vi. C. xii.—xviii.

§ *Schellh.* *Amœn. Lit.* T. ix. pp. 676, 677.

|| *Voyt*, *Catal. Libror. Rarior.* p. 487.

¶ Bk. iii. Ch. xiv. p. 350.

who denied the doctrines of Predestination and Original Sin, men of exemplary lives, and of the strictest piety, but exceedingly fond of disputation, and eager to make converts to their opinions. These were perpetually engaged in argument with their fellow-prisoners, many of whom they brought over to their own views. Besides these Antipreddestinarians and Pelagians, there were "some few," who denied the divinity of Jesus Christ; and these differences of opinion led to such warm debates, that the Marshal of the Queen's-Bench, where some of them were confined, was under the necessity of separating them from each other, and classing them according to their opinions.

In the year 1556, a report of these divisions reached the Privy Council; and Dr. Martin was sent to the Queen's-Bench, to investigate the matter, with a view to the correction of the evil.* There happened to be some Antitrinitarians in the prison, in which Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, was confined; and he so lost his temper, while engaged in disputing with them, as to make use of the most passionate and opprobrious language, and to set all the ordinary rules of courtesy, and even common decency, at defiance. On one occasion he spat upon a fellow-prisoner, who, in the ordinary language of the time, was called an Arian; and being censured, by some of his own party, for conduct so little becoming a Christian man, and a Christian Minister, he wrote a letter in his own defence, bearing the following title. "*An Apology of Jhon Philpot:*

* Mem. of Cranmer, p. 352.

Written for spitting on an Arian: With an Invec-
tive against the Arians, the veri naturall Children
of Antichrist: With an Admonition to all that be
faithfull in Christ, to beware of them, and of other
late sprung Heresies, as of the most Enemies of the
Gospell." This singular production has been pre-
served by *Strype*, who "thought it pity, that any
scraps of these great men should be lost."*

It appears that Philpot was present, when a cer-
tain Antitrinitarian, in the course of argument with
persons of opposite sentiments, made use of words
to this effect;—"that God was no otherwise in
Christ, than God was in him; and that *he* might
be without sin, as well as Christ." Fired with in-
dignation at these assertions, Philpot, instead of
reasoning, or remonstrating with this man, spat
upon him, which, as he afterwards said, he did for
the honour of Christ; namely, "to signify thereby,
that he was a person not to be accompanied withal
for his horrid blasphemy, and to relieve that sorrow,
which he conceived for that blasphemy that was
spoke against our Saviour."

As the "Apology" of the Archdeacon is not
printed by Fox, or included in the letters of the
Martyrs, a few extracts from it, in the present con-
nexion, may not be misplaced.

"I am amased," says he, "and do tremble both
in body and soule, to heare at this day certen men,
or rather not men, but covered with man's shape,
parsons of a bestly understanding, who, after so
many and manifold benefyts and graces of oure

* Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. Ch. xxxiii. p. 261. App. p. 146.

Lorde God and Saviour Jesus Christ,—declared to be both God and man by the spirit of sanctification, the eternal Son of God with power,—notwithstanding are not ashamed to robbe this eternal Son of God, and owr most marcifful Saviour, of his infinite majesty, and to pluck hym owt of the glorious throne of his unspeakable deity. O impiety, of all others most detestable! O infidelity, more terrible than the palpable darknes of Egipt! O flaming fyerbronnnes of hell.—What harte may bare such blasphemy? What eye may quietly behold such an enemy of God? What membre of Christ may allowe yn any wyse, such a membre of the Divel? What Christian may have felloship with such rank antichrists?—Brighter is the glory of owre God and Christ, than it may be darkned by all the route of the prince of darknes. Who dwellith yn the light which is unapproachable, although thes ded doggs do take upon them with their corrupt sight to perce and blemishe the same, to their owne blynding forever. If the good kynge Esechias, after he had hearde the blasphemis of Rabsacie uttered against the lyving Lord, tore his royal garments in pecis, in testimony of the great sorrow he had conceived for the same;—if Paul and Barnabas, perceving the people at Lystris to take the honour of God, and attributyng the same to creatures, rent their garments, yn sygnification that we all shold declare by sum owtward means the lyke sorrow, when we heare or see the lyke blasphemies; How may we with patience abide to heare the robbery of the majesty of owre Christ's equality with God, who, as S. Paul witnesseth, *thought it no robbery to be equal with*

God? What faithful servant can be content to heare his master blasphemed? And if perchance he show any just anger therfore, all honest men do beare with his doying in that behalf: And cannot you, Christian bretherne and sisterne, beare with me, who, for the just zeale of the glory of my God and Christ, beyng blasphemed by an arrogant, ignorant, and obstinately blinded Arian, making hymself equal with Christ, saying, that God was none otherwyse yn Christ, than God was yn hym; making hym but a creature, as he was hymself, [pretending] you to be without synne as well as Christ; did spyte on hym? Partly as a declaration of that sorrow which I had to heare such a prowde blasphemour of our Saviour, as also to signify unto other there present, whom he went about to pervert, that he was a parson to be abhorred of all Christians, and not to be companied withal.

“If this my fact seme to them that judge not thyngs according to the spirit of God, uncharitable, yet let them know, that God, who is charity, allowith the same: For it is written, yn the Gospell, that Christ came not to set us at peace with men in the carth, but at division; and that is for his cause and trewth. And whosoever will not abide with Christ's Church in the trewth, we ought not to show the poyntes of charity unto any such, but to take hym as a heathen and a publican.—Consider you, therfor, that have love and felship with such, that the same damnation shall fall upon you therfor, as is due to wicked heretycks. God will have us to put a differens betwixt the cleane and the uncleane, and to tuche no uncleane parsons, but to go owt from

them; and what is more uncleane than infidelitie? Who is a greater infidel than the Arian? Who spoilith his Redeemer of his honour, and makith hym but a creature. What fellowship is there betwixt light and darknes? And what concord can there be betwyne Christ and Belial? Never was there more abominable Belials than thes Arians be. The ignorant Belials worship the creatures for the Creator: But thes perverse Arrians do worship Christ (who is the Creatour of al thyngs,) but as a creature, lyke unto themselves. What Christian tongue may call hym to be a good man, that denieth Christ to be the auctour and worker of al goodnes, as the Arrian doeth?—Who can abyde the eternal generation of the Son of God to be denied, synce it is written of hym, *His generation who shall be hable to declare?* Is there any trewe Christian harte that grudgith not at such faithles blasphemours? Can the eye, ear, tongue, or the other senses of the body, be content to heare their Creatour blasphemed, and not repyne? Should not the mouth declare the zele for his Maker, by spyttings on hym that depravith his divine majesty, which was, is, and shal be God forever? If God, as it is mentioned in the Apocalypse, will spew hypocrites owt of his mouth, such as be nether hot nor cold in his worde; Why may not then a man of God spyt on hym that is worse than an hypocrite, enemy to the Godhed manifested in the blessed Trinity, who will in no wyse be perswaded to the contrary? If Christ with a whippe dryved owt of the temple such as were prophaners thereof, ought not the servant of God, by som lyk owtward signification, to reprove the vilany of those

as go abowt to take away the glory of hym that was the builder of the temple?

“If Moises be commended by the scripture for striking an Egyptian, that did injury to one of the people of God; how may he be justly blamed, which did but spyt at hym, that doeth such injury and sacrilege to the Son of God, as to pluck hym from his eternal and proper Godhede?—Who may heare with patience the right ways of the Lord perverted by thes divelish holly Arians, and hold his peace? A lyvely faith is not dumb, but is alwais redy to resist the gainsaiers, as David saith, *I have beleved, and therfor have I spoken*. Speak, then, you that have tongues to praise and confesse God against thes Arians: Exalt your voice lyke a trompet; that simple men may beware of their pharisaical vermyn, and be not deceived, as now many are unawares, of simplicitie: Suffer them not to passe by you unpoynted at; yea, if they be so stowte, that they will not cease to speak against God ovr Saviour, and Christ, as they are all new baptized enemies thereto, refrayne not to spyt at such inordinate swyne, as are not ashamed to tred under their feet the precious Godhed of ovr Saviour Jesus Christ. Ovr God is a jealous God, and requireth us to be zelous in his cause. If we cannot abyde ovr owne name to be evil spoken, without great indignation; shal we be quiet to heare the name of ovr God defaced, and not declare any sign of wrathe against them? It is written, *Be angry and sinne not*: A man then may show tokens of anger, in a cause which he ought to defend, without breach of charitye. The prophet David saith, *Shall I not hate them, O Lord,*

that hate thee, and upon thyne enemies shall I not be wrathfull: I will hate them with a perfect hatred: They are become myne enemies. Aaron, because he was not more zealous in God's cause, when he perceived the people bent to idolatry, he entred not into the land of promise. God loveth not lukewarme soldiours in the batil of faith, but such as be earnest and violent shall inherit his kyngdome.

"I exhort you, not to judge that evill, which God highly commendeth; but rather pray, that God wil give you zeale to withstand the enemies of the Gospell, neither to have any maner of felowship with thes Antichrists.

"As their corrupt faces bashe not to deny the eternal Son of God, so are they not ashamed to deny the Holy Ghost to be God; their forehed is lyke the forehed of a whore, hardned with counterfeted hypocrisye.—The Lord confound them. The Lord conserve his elect from their damnable poison. The Lord open all Christian eyes to beware of them. The Lord geve al his church an uniforme zeale and mynde to abhor them, and to cast from them. You that be of the trewth, and have any zeale of God in you, store it up, and bend it against thes enemies of owre livynge God, which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to whom be all honour, praise, and glory forever."*

The Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, in his "Historical View of the State of the Unitarian Doctrine from the Reformation to our own 'Times,'"† has made copious extracts from this "Apology," and has com-

* A Catalogue of Originals, pp. 145—157.

† Ch. ii. pp. 95—151.

mented upon them at considerable length, pointing out the gratuitous assumptions, the false reasonings, and the perversions of scriptural language, in which they abound. Its author, who was "otherwise," as Mr. Lindsey admits, "a good man," laboured under the very common infirmity of believing himself to be in the right, and all the rest of mankind, except those who had the good fortune to agree with him, in the wrong. He was, too, as *Strype* very justly remarks, "a man of strong affections."* He had but little of the spirit of Christian meekness in his composition. His hostility to the Roman Catholics as well as to the Unitarians was bitter and uncompromising; but his temerity in denouncing the opinions of the former cost him his life; for he was burned at Smithfield on the 18th of December, 1555.† At his eleventh examination, he told his Judges, that, except in the article of the Trinity, they were corrupt in all things, and sound in nothing; and at his thirteenth examination, he maintained, that he was right, and the Papists and all heretics wrong, "by the spirit of God which he had, and they had not, and by the word of God, which he knew to be on his side, and against them."‡

Among the Unitarians, who abjured in the reign of Mary, A.D. 1556, were WILLIAM POWLING;§ JOHN SIMMS;|| and ROBERT KING.¶ Of each of these *Strype* gives some account in his "Ecclesiastical

* Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. Ch. xxxiii. p. 262.

† Ch. xxxvi. p. 284.

‡ Hist. View, Ch. ii. p. 150, Note n.

§ Vide Art. 31.

|| Vide Art. 32.

¶ Vide Art. 33.

Memorials.”* When the commission was appointed, which led to the disclosure of their opinions, there were many Christian professors, who were adverse alike to Popery, and to that peculiar form of Protestantism, which was embodied in the Articles of Edward VI. Some rejected the divinity of Christ, and some his humanity. Some believed in the impersonality of the Holy Spirit; or, admitting that the Holy Spirit was a person, denied his supreme godhead. Some, again, called in question the truth of the doctrines of Original Sin, Election and Predestination, Justification by Faith, and Christ’s Descent into Hell. Some denied the validity of Infant Baptism; and some condemned the use of things indifferent in religion. Such, indeed, was the variety of opinions which prevailed at this time, that many felt themselves called upon to draw up, and publish summary Confessions of Faith; lest it should be thought, in after times, that they secretly entertained these opinions.†

A similar feeling led others to publish attacks upon such opinions. *Wood* mentions one Dr. Bartholomew Traheron, who had been the Royal Librarian, and Dean of Chichester, during the short reign of Edward VI.; and who, among other things, wrote “An Exposition of Part of St. John’s Gospel, made in sundry Readings in the English Congregation against the Arians.”‡ Dr. Traheron, the author of these readings, was one of a party of English exiles, who left their country on the accession of Mary,

* Vol. III. Ch. xli. pp. 332, 333.

† Ch. xlvii. p. 363.

‡ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Ed. 1721, Vol. I. No. 158, f. 137.

and settled at Frankfort. They retained the use of the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the reign of Edward; and opened a seminary, or college, for the advancement of learning. The lecturers, or readers, were Dr. Horn for Hebrew, Dr. Mullins for Greek, and Dr. Traheron for Divinity; and among Dr. Traheron's other readings, or lectures, were some upon the Proëm of John's Gospel, expressly directed against the Antitrinitarians, whose opinions were then beginning to find many advocates, especially among Protestants.* The lectures were ten in number, and were printed abroad; but on the return of Dr. T., after the death of Mary, were reprinted in England, A. D. 1558.†

Wood also mentions a clergyman, of the name of John Pullayne, who published a "Tract against the Arians;" and who, on the accession of Elizabeth, was made Archdeacon of Colchester.‡

The Protestants who had taken refuge abroad, during the reign of Mary, returned to England on the accession of Elizabeth; but, for the most part, in a state of great destitution. Those Ministers, who could conscientiously conform, joined the Established Church, in which many of them obtained high and honourable preferment; but others, who were more scrupulous, after being permitted to preach for a time, were suspended, and ultimately deprived.

* *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* Vol. III. Ch. xli. p. 333.

† *Athen. Oxon.* ubi supra.

‡ No. 168, f. 148.

In 1559, before Elizabeth had occupied the throne one full year, Articles of Visitation were issued, directing, among other things, that inquiry should be made, "whether any had wilfully maintained and defended any heresies, errours, or false opinions, contrary to the faith of Christ, and holy Scripture."* In the year following, as one result of this Visitation, all the Baptists who dwelt in England were banished; and many others, who were desirous of settling there, were prohibited from entering the kingdom.† The Strangers' Church in Augustin Friars, however, was restored, with one limitation. The Queen would not permit John a Lasco to resume the superintendence over it, on the ground that this would be to trench upon the jurisdiction of her own Bishop. A Lasco, therefore, waived his claim; and Grindal was appointed Superintendent.‡

Among the foreigners of eminence belonging to this Church was JAMES ACONTIUS, author of a celebrated work, entitled "*Satanæ Stratagemata*," the liberal tone of which gave great offence to some of the leading Protestants of the day, who claimed for themselves a freedom of thought and speech, which they were strongly disposed to withhold from others. Acontius was employed by Queen Elizabeth as an engineer, and obtained a pension from her for some improvements, which he introduced into the art of fortification; in return for which he dedicated to Her Majesty the above-mentioned work, which was

* A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons, &c., 1671, 4to, p. 178.

† *Lamy*, Histoire du Socinianisme, p. 128.

‡ *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. I. p. 165.

printed at Basle in 1565. During his residence in England he fell under a suspicion of Arianism,* for which he was called to account by Grindal;† whose sentence was, that Acontius should not be admitted as a communicant, either in the Strangers' Church, or any other within his own spiritual jurisdiction.‡

Besides the Strangers' Church in Augustin Friars, there was, at this time, a French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street; and as the members of these Churches enjoyed privileges, which were not extended to any other class of dissidents, some English Nonconformists, who wished to be at peace, and to escape persecution, joined their communion. This came to the knowledge of the Privy Council, who issued a letter to the Ministers and Elders of the Church in Augustin Friars, dated April, 1573, in which, after alluding to the indulgence extended towards them, they are warned "not to despise the customs of the English Church, nor do anything that might create a suspicion of disturbing its peace; and in particular, not to receive into their communion any of this realm that offered to join with them, and leave the customs and practice of their native country, lest the Queen should be moved to banish them out of the kingdom." As a significant intimation of this kind could not be disregarded with impunity, the letter of the Council had the effect intended; and an answer was returned, in which, after thanking the government for the protection they enjoyed, the Elders promised to expel

* Vide *Art.* 34.

† Gen. Biog. Dict. *Art.* ACONTIUS.

‡ *Strype's Life of Grindal*, p. 45.

from their Church all, who were not foreigners; and, in future, to admit to the privileges of membership none, who, from motives such as those to which the Council alluded, should withdraw from the communion of the Church established by law.*

One of the Ministers of the Strangers' Church, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, was HADRIAN HAMSTED,† who, according to *Strype*,‡ was touched with Anabaptistical and Arian principles; but had the reputation of being a sober and pious man. He disclaimed having any connexion with the Baptists, but defended them against their persecutors, and laboured much for their peaceable and quiet subsistence; insisting upon their right to follow their own honest convictions, and contending, that the best way to win them from their error, was to treat them with gentleness and forbearance.§ But his advice was disregarded; and the Baptists still continued to be objects of persecution.

During the first ten years of the reign of Elizabeth, three separate attempts were made, to ascertain the number, as well as the occupations and religious opinions, of all foreigners settled in England, and particularly in London, and the principal maritime towns;|| and in 1575, the writ "*de Hæretico comburendo*," which had slumbered for seventeen years, was revived, for the purpose of being put into execution against the obnoxious Baptists. Rumours of new sects, and heresies, "of

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. I. pp. 324, 325. *Strype's Life of Grindal*, Bk. i. Ch. v. p. 45.

† *Vide Art. 36.*

§ P. 43.

‡ *Ubi supra*, p. 42.

|| Bk. i. Ch. xiii. p. 122.

Judaism, Arianism, and the like," in and near the metropolis, had reached the ears of Grindal in the spring of the preceding year;* and it was at length determined, that a severe example should be made, for the purpose of checking the further growth of heresy.

The Baptists refused to join with the Dutch or English Churches; and held their assemblies in a clandestine manner. On Easter Sunday, 1575, a congregation of them was surprised in a private house in Aldersgate Street, of whom nearly thirty were apprehended, and imprisoned. Five of these recanted, and bare faggots at Paul's Cross. Fourteen women, and a young boy, after he had been whipped, were banished, upon pain of death, if they ever returned to England. Five others were shut up in a dungeon, where one of them died. The Ministers of the Flemish and French Churches endeavoured to convert the rest; but to no purpose. They gave in writing the reasons for their refusal, and entreated the Queen to set them at liberty; but she was so exasperated against them, that she would not receive their petition. She thought that they were Atheists, and enemies to all forms of civil government. One James de Somere, a member of the Reformed Church, wrote from London to his mother, that the Bishop had published certain Articles, by the Queen's command, and this among others:—"That a Christian Government may lawfully punish heretics with death." All foreigners residing in England were called upon to sign these

* Bk. ii. Ch. iv. p. 186.

Articles; and most of them did so. At length on the 22nd of July, two prisoners, who were older than the rest, Jan Wielmacker, or Peterson, and Hendrick Terwordt, were burnt alive at Smithfield. This severity surprised the persecuted Protestants of Flanders and Brabant. The members of the Dutch Church petitioned for a commutation of the sentence; and *Fox*, the Martyrologist, wrote an intercessory letter in Latin to the Queen, which has been much praised for the elegance of its composition. But their prayers were in vain. *Fuller* endeavours to extenuate the conduct of Elizabeth, by representing the execution of these unhappy men as an act of necessity; and says, that as she formerly punished some traitors, had she now spared these blasphemers, the world would have condemned her, as being more in earnest in asserting her own safety, than God's honour.*

Fuller has preserved a copy of *Fox's* letter to the Queen on this occasion; and *Mr. Lindsey* has given it in the Appendix to his "Apology on resigning the Vicarage of Catterick." A document of so much importance, it is hoped, will not be deemed out of place, in the APPENDIX to the present work, where the reader will find it, under No. V.

About the time to which these observations relate, Dr. RAPHAEL RITTER,† who was of German extraction, though born in London, was actively

* *De la Roche's* Abridgement of *Brandt's* History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. pp. 166—169. *Neal's* Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. Ch. v. pp. 339, 340. *Fuller's* Church History of Britain, Bk. ix. pp. 104, 105. *Strype's* Annals, Vol. II. p. 380.

† Vide *Art.* 104.

employed in disseminating a tract in Prussia, entitled, "Brevis Demonstratio, quod Christus non sit ipse Deus, qui Pater, nec ei æqualis." Whether he did this of his own accord, or was employed as the agent of others, is uncertain. *Bock* thinks it beyond doubt, that he was an instrument in the hands of others; and says that he was probably not himself the author of the book, which he was so zealous in dispersing.* That he was allowed to propagate his sentiments openly in England, is by no means probable. The publication of the "Brevis Demonstratio" seems, indeed, to have taken place chiefly, if not solely in Ducal Prussia; and this may in some measure account for no record having been preserved, by our own historians, of the consequences resulting from its circulation.† Yet all, who mention Ritter, allude to the fact of his having been born in London.

It would appear, that Antitrinitarian sentiments had spread as widely, and taken as deep root, in the diocese of Norwich, during the reign of Elizabeth, as in any part of England. In the year 1579, MATTHEW HAMONT was burnt alive in that county, for denying, among other things, that Christ was God;‡ and in 1583, JOHN LEWES underwent the same punishment at Norwich, for "denying the Godhead of Christ, and holding divers other detestable heresies."§ A few years after this, two other persons suffered at Norwich for "blasphemy," a term which was probably used to designate opinions,

* Hist. Socin. Prussici, § v. pp. 8, 9.

† *Sandii* Nucl. H. E., L. iii. p. 430.

‡ Vide *Art.* 105.

§ Vide *Art.* 106.

similar to those held by Matthew Hamont, and John Lewes. Nor was the infection confined to the laity. It spread among the clergy; and at length attained to such a height, as to baffle all the efforts of the Bishop of the diocese for its suppression. "These courses," says *Strype*, "went on at Bury for some years, the Ministers varying from, or altering the 'Common Prayer' at their discretion, disliking the Order of it, and depraving the book; asserting the Queen's Supremacy to be only in civil matters, not religious; and some also holding certain heresies, as that Christ was not God, &c.; and many young Ministers of this sort encreasing in those parts; and all this in great measure by the favour of some of the Justices; till, in the year 1583, they received a check by some severe proceedings at the Assizes at Bury, Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice being upon the bench; when many were convicted, and some obstinately persisting put to death, and the Justices reprimanded, and warned to keep the peace. * * The Bishop quite weary of living there, got a remove a year or two after to another bishoprick."* But his successor appears to have been no less unfortunate in his attempts to check the growth of heresy.

In the year 1588, Bishop Scambler summoned to his court one FRANCIS KET, M.A., a Clergyman, whose opinions concerning Christ are said to have been so vile and horrible, that the Bishop felt himself under the necessity of condemning him for an obstinate heretic. In a letter, dated Oct. 7th, he

* *Annals*, Vol. III. Bk. i. Ch. ii. p. 22.

informed the Lord Treasurer of the step which he had taken, and requested his authority for the speedy execution of so dangerous a person; on which the necessary order was issued, and the poor man was burnt alive, at a place in the vicinity of Norwich. *Stowe* informs us, that he suffered for "divers detestable opinions against Christ, our Saviour;"* but does not state what those opinions were. *Strype*, who displays remarkable diligence in the recovery of documents of this nature, was not able to find the Bishop's letter to the Lord Treasurer, in which these opinions were specified. He conjectures that the letter was purposely destroyed; and that Ket was probably an Arian, or belonged to the sect of "The Family of Love."†

Wood‡ mentions one Alexander Gill, who, in 1601, published, in 8vo, a "Treatise concerning the Trinity in Unity of the Deity," expressly directed against THOMAS MANNERING, an Anabaptist, who denied that Jesus is very God of very God. At the time that Gill wrote the above treatise, he was an instructor of youth in the city of Norwich. In 1608, he was appointed head master of St. Paul's school; and in 1635, his "Treatise concerning the Trinity" was reprinted, at the end of another work, in Folio, by the same author, entitled, "Sacred Philosophy of the Holy Scripture, or a Commentary on the Creed." What became of Mannering we are not told: but that he escaped with no severer punishment than Gill was able to inflict upon him with

* Chronicle, A. D. 1588.

† Annals, Vol. III. Bk. ii. Ch. xvii. pp. 557, 558.

‡ Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. No. 690, fol. 602.

his pen, is scarcely credible. Although the Puritans encountered much persecution in the reign of Elizabeth, the Anabaptists and Arianizers, as they were called, were the principal sufferers.* The harshest treatment was deemed too mild for them; and the extreme penalty, denounced by the sanguinary laws of those times against heretics, was doubtless inflicted upon many, of whose lives every record has long since perished. Elizabeth is reported to have said, that she perceived with sorrow such monsters as Arians living in her kingdom.†

Wood‡ quotes from *Thomas Beard's* "Theater of God's Judgments," (Ch. xxiii.) an account of CHRISTOPHER MARLOW, the contemporary, or rather immediate predecessor of Shakspeare, in which it is said, that Marlow "denied God and his Son Christ, and not only in word blasphemed the Trinity, but also (as it is credibly reported) wrote books against it, affirming our Saviour to be but a deceiver, and Moses but a conjurer and seducer of the people, and the Holy Bible to be but vain and idle stories, and all religion but a device of policy." The Chapter, from which this account is taken, professes to treat "On Epicures and Atheists;" and *Warton*, in his "History of English Poetry," says, that Marlow's "scepticism, whatever it might be, was construed by the prejudiced and peevish Puritans into absolute Atheism." A writer in the "Monthly Repository,"§ questions the accuracy of *Beard's* account of Mar-

* *Lamy*, Hist. du Socin. p. 128.

† *Sandii* Nucl. H. E. p. 430.

‡ *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 338.

§ Vol. IX. 1814, p. 118, Book-Worm, No. xii.

low; and endeavours to shew, that it is inconsistent with itself, and therefore ought to be taken with some allowance for puritanical exaggeration. This writer says, "The assertion of Beard that Marlow 'denied God,' is quite inconsistent with his having 'blasphemed the Trinity,' which generally means nothing worse than an assertion of the divine Unity: and if Marlow 'wrote books' on the subject, I confess I would gladly recover them. His opinion of Moscs might be only that of the late Dr. Geddes, which he held, however unaccountably, in strict connection with a Christian faith and practice. Marlow's supposed invectives against Christ and his dying horrors, are too much in the style of polemic rant to be easily credited. I cannot better conclude this, than with the following passage, from Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*.* 'What credit may be due to Mr. Wood's severe representation of this poet's character, the reader must judge for himself. For my part, I am willing to suspend my judgment till I meet with some other testimony of his having thus heinously offended against his God, and against the most amiable system of religion, that ever was or ever can be. Marloe might possibly be inclined to Free-thinking, without running the unhappy lengths that Mr. Wood tells us it was reported he had done. We have many instances of characters being too lightly taken up on report, and mistakenly represented through a too easy credulity, especially against a man who may happen to differ from us in some speculative points, wherein each party,

* Vol. I. *Art.* MARLOE.

however, may think himself orthodox. The good Dr. Clarke himself has been as ill spoken of as Wood speaks of Marloe." But we must now pass on to the reign of James the First.

The first event in the reign of James, which shewed the English what they had to expect from their new "Defender of the Faith," was the publication of "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Bishop of London, President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishoppes and Cleargie of the said Province, and agreed upon with the Kings Majesties licence in their Synode begunne at London An. Dom. 1603; and in the yeere of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland the First, and of Scotland the 37."

The first of these "Constitutions and Canons" asserted "the King's Supremacy over the Church of England in causes Ecclesiastical:" the second directed, that all, who refused to the King's Majesty "the same authority in causes Ecclesiastical, that the godly Kings had among the Jews, and Christian Emperors in the primitive Church," should be excommunicated ipso facto: and the third pronounced "the Church of England a true and apostolical Church." The next five declared, that all impugnors of the Church of England; its worship, articles, rites and ceremonies; its government by Archbishops, Bishops, &c.; and the form of consecrating and ordering the same, should be excom-

municated. The ninth and tenth were levelled against "schismatics;" and the eleventh and twelfth against "maintainers of conventicles, and of constitutions made in conventicles." The two last mentioned were couched in the following terms.

"xi. Whosoeuer shall hereafter affirme or maintaine, that there are within this Realme other Meetings, Assemblies or Congregations, of the Kings borne Subjects, then such as by the Lawes are helde and allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawfull Churches: Let him bee Excommunicated and not restored, but by the Archbishop after his repentance and publike reuocation of such his wicked errours.

"xii. Whosoeuer shal hereafter affirme that it is lawful for any sort of Ministers and Lay Persons, or of either of them to ioync together, and make Rules, Orders, or Constitutions in causes Ecclesiasticall without the Kings Authoritie, and shall submit themselves to bee ruled and gouerned by them: Let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not be restored vntill they repent, and publikely reuoke those their wicked and Anabaptisticall errours."

The phrase "Anabaptisticall errours" will occasion no difficulty to those, who have attended to the history of the four preceding reigns. *Anabaptists* and *Arianizers* were in those days regarded as nearly synonymous terms; and in order to free himself from these, James made it a matter of duty publicly to testify, that he held them in abhorrence.* But he did more than this. Two, if not three, were put to death in his reign, on a charge

* *Lamy*, Hist. du Socin. p. 130.

of heresy. The names of the two, respecting whom no doubt exists, were BARTHOLOMEW LEGATE,* and EDWARD WIGHTMAN,† to which *Lamy* adds that of PAUL CASAUBON,‡ who, as he says, underwent the same punishment, for the same alleged crime; but on what authority he has omitted to state.

Fuller says, that a Spanish Arian was condemned to death, on a charge of heresy, in the reign of James the First; but that his sentence was not carried into execution, and that he was left to linger out his life in Newgate. "Indeed," says this honest old historian, "such burning of Hereticks much startled common people, pitying all pain, and prone to asperse *justice* it self with *cruelty*, because of the novelty and hideousnesse of the punishment. And the purblind eyes of vulgar judgments looked onely on what was next to them, (the suffering it self,) which they beheld with compassion, not minding the demerit of the guilt, which deserved the same. Besides, such being unable to distinguish betwixt *constancy* and *obstinacy*, were ready to entertain good thoughts even of the Opinions of these Hereticks, who sealed them so manfully with their blood. Wherefore King JAMES politickly preferred, that Hereticks hereafter, though condemned, should silently, and privately waste themselves away in Prison, rather than to grace them and amuze others with the solemnity of a *publick Execution*, which in popular judgments usurped the honour of a persecution."§

* Vide *Art.* 181.

† Vide *Art.* 182.

‡ Hist. du Soc. p. 130.

§ Church History of Britain, Bk. x. Sect. iv.

In allusion to the martyrdom of Wightman by burning, and to the circumstance of his being an Antipædobaptist, *Crosby* says, "The first who was put to this cruel death in England was *William Sawtre*, supposed, upon very probable grounds, to have denied *infant baptism*; and this man, the last who was honoured with this kind of martyrdom, was expressly condemned for that opinion: so that this *sect* had the honour both of leading the way, and bringing up the rear of all the *martyrs* who were *burnt alive in England*."

Although James had found, by experience, that the burning of heretics, was not the most efficacious mode of suppressing heresy, he indulged his propensity for incendiarism, by the more harmless practice of burning their books. Isaac Casaubon appears to have been a great advocate for this last appeal of baffled and defeated bigotry. This learned divine had been brought up in the school of Geneva; and on the death of Henry IV. of France, settled in England, where he obtained a royal pension, and considerable preferment in the Church. It was at his instigation, that King James ordered CONRAD VORSTIUS's "Theological Treatise on God and his Attributes" to be burnt, in the year 1611;* nor is it improbable, that he was consulted, and became an approving party, in the burning of Legate and Wightman, in the spring of the year following. We learn, too, from *Casaubon* himself, that the Latin translation of "The Racovian Catechism,"

* Vide *Art.* 153, No. 24.

which Jerome Moscorovius had dedicated to King James, shared the same fate, in the year 1614.*

It was about this time, that ANTHONY WOTTON lived, of whom Chewney† writes as follows. “This is the last *perverse* Publisher of this *damnable Heresie*, that we shall think fit to name; and who first openly professed it in *England*, and by *manuscript Pamphlets*, and Printed books, dispersed it in *London*; a place as much adicted to, and taken with *novilty*, as any other whatsoever: For let the *Doctrine* be what it will, if it smell not of *novelty*, it hath there, for the most part, no better entertainment then *Christ* among the *Gadarens*, they regard it not; from thence it was carryed as a discovery of some *new truth*, into several places of the *Country*; and this about forty years ago. But being detected, hotly pursued, and *strenuously* opposed, by that *stout Champion* for the *Truth*, Mr. *George Walker*, *Pastor of St. John the Evangelist, London*; and by his *Zeal*, together with the *industry* of some other *Ministers* in that *City*, he was quickly quell’d; and his *opinion* seemingly suppressed: But yet, because he would still uphold a secret *faction*: He wrote a Book in *Latine*, wherein he seemed to retract, or rather to run from some desperate *opinions*, which he formerly maintained, and *wild speeches* and *expressions*, which he had uttered, which are to be seen in his private *Manuscripts*, given by him to those of his party, and so delivered over from hand to hand, and formerly dispersed: But the *Plaister*

* Exercitat. in Annal. Card. Baronii, Dedic.

† Anti-Socinianism, &c. London, 1656, p. 230.

was nothing neer so broad as the sore. For his *retraction*, if any, was *clandestine* and secret, whereas his endeavours to *propagate* this *pernicious heresie*, were *notoriously* manifest by his writings, wherein he professeth in plain words his descent from all our *Orthodox Divines*, which had before written any thing concerning the necessary *Doctrine* of a sinners *justification* before God; saying, *I am forced to dissent from them all*: In that very Book he shews, how skilful he is in the *art of dissimulation*, which is able to deceive thousands: For therein he makes a shew of consent with them, and endeavours to perswade them to believe it, whereas he wrests their doubtful speeches to countenance, and to cover his *error* and *socinianism*, which he would have his seduced *Disciples* to embrace and follow." It would appear from this notice of Anthony Wotton, that he flourished about 1616; but no evidence has been adduced, to prove that his faith on the subject of the Trinity was unsound. In the year 1641, a posthumous vindication of himself from the charge of Socinianism was published, in 12mo, at Cambridge, by his son, and bore the following title. "*Mr. Anthony Wotton's Defence against Mr. George Walker's Charge, accusing him of Socinian Heresie and Blasphemie: written by him in his life-time, and given in at an hearing by Mr. Walker procured; and now published out of his own papers by Samuel Wotton his Sonne. Together with a Preface and Postscript, briefly relating the Occasion and Issue thereof, by Thomas Gataker an eye and eare-witness of either.*" Mr. George Walker, B.D., the individual mentioned by Chewney, had published

a Treatise, under the title of "Socinianisme in the Fundamentall point of Justification discovered and confuted." We learn, from Wood's account of this Mr. Walker,* that he was an excellent scholar, an acute reasoner, a good orientalist, and an able divine; but Archbishop Laud describes him as "a disorderly and peevish man." He belonged to the puritanical party, and underwent two years' imprisonment, for preaching against what he deemed the profanation of the Lord's-day. In his work on Justification, which was published in 1641, 8vo., he appears to have attacked Anthony Wotton; and it was this which led Samuel Wotton, the son of Anthony, in the course of the same year, to publish his father's Defence of himself against the charge of Socinianism. In this Defence, Anthony Wotton pleads his own cause, and the reader is left to acquit or condemn him, according to the nature of the evidence adduced. On the subject of Justification, he may be said, perhaps, to Socinianize; but on other subjects, there seems to have been a wide difference between his opinions, and those of Socinus.

It was during the reign of James I., that the celebrated Synod of Dort was held. To this Synod he sent Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff; Dr. Hall, Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; and Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney College, Cambridge; who, together with several divines of the high Calvinistic party, from Switzerland and Germany, did all in their power to damp the spirit

* *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. I. fol. 219, 220.

of free inquiry, which had begun to shew itself among the followers of Arminius.* But James had attained considerable notoriety, some years before this Synod was convened, by the part which he took against CONRAD VORSTIUS.

Arminius died in 1609, and Vorstius was chosen to fill the vacant divinity chair of the University of Leyden, as his successor. The latter had corresponded with some of the Unitarians in Poland, and the neighbouring countries; and was suspected of being tainted with their opinions. In the year 1610, not long after his appointment to the professorship at Leyden, he published an enlarged edition of his treatise "De Deo," which he dedicated to the Landgrave of Hesse; and this being fiercely assailed as soon as it made its appearance, he printed, in the course of the same year, a defence of it, entitled, "Apologetica Exegesis pro Tractatu De Deo."† In the autumn of the year following, a few months before the burning of Legate and Wightman, these two works fell into the hands of James, while he was on a hunting progress; and when he had read them, he lost no time in dispatching a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, his Ambassador in Holland, commanding him to use all his influence against their author, and to express his own strong displeasure at any marks of attention, which Vorstius either had received, or might receive.‡ In his manifesto to the States-General he says, "What, if Vorstius,

* *Whitelocke's Memorials*, p. 297, A.D. 1618. *Fuller's Worthies*, p. 159.

† *Sandii Bibl. Ant.* p. 98.

‡ *Fuller's Church Hist.* Bk. x. Sect. iv. pp. 60—62.

that miserable being, choose to deny the blasphemous heresies and proofs of Atheism which he has hitherto published, or to employ equivocations in softening them down ! such a course will perhaps have the effect of prolonging his life, and prevent him from being burnt ! On this subject I appeal to your Christian prudence, and ask, Did there ever exist a heretic more deserving of this species of punishment ?” But this appeal, direct and unequivocal as it was, failed of its object ; and the King, being frustrated in his attempts to bring Vorstius himself to the stake, ordered his book to be burnt in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, and at the two Universities.* He likewise commanded Sir Ralph Winwood to protest against the proceedings of the States-General in this matter ; and Sir Ralph acted in strict compliance with the orders which he received. But James, with that weakness and irresolution which characterized the whole of his conduct, became so alarmed at the probable consequences of Winwood’s protest, that he deemed it prudent to apologize to the Dutch Ambassador at his own court, for the strong language which Winwood had used ; and was even mean enough to entertain serious thoughts of writing to clear himself, and throw all the blame on his representative.† In the end it was determined, by way of compromise, that Vorstius should leave Leyden, but have permission to reside in any other town in the dominion of the States, and be main-

* The Works of *James Arminius*, translated from the Latin by *James Nichols*, Vol. I. pp. 465, 466.

† *Winwood’s Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 332, apud *Catherine Macaulay’s Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 74.

tained at their expense. He accordingly went to Gouda, where he lived privately till the Synod of Dort, when sentence of banishment was pronounced against him. He then retired to Tonningen, in the Duchy of Holstein, where he died, Sept. 29th, O.S., 1622, an Antitrinitarian.*

It has been said that James's quarrel with Vorstius was a personal one, and that his resentment was occasioned by the ironical manner, in which Vorstius had spoken of him in one of his works; yet Salisbury says, "the zeal which stirreth the King against that man, [Vorstius,] so kindles in him upon every accident of discourse, as we have all reason to bless God in making us subjects to such a King, that, without mixture of glory or private design, taketh so much to heart the injury that is done to the Blessed Trinity."†

Towards the latter part of the reign of James, his conduct, as respects the Arminian party, underwent a complete change. When he first took up his pen against Vorstius, he acknowledged, that he did not even know of the existence of such a person as Arminius, till after his death, and till all the Reformed Churches in Germany had begun to complain of him;‡ yet, in 1611, we find His Majesty moving heaven and earth against the Remonstrant party in Holland. At the Synod of Dort, A.D. 1618, his Calvinistic zeal had not undergone the slightest abatement. In the year 1621, however, he appears to have outgrown his Calvinistic preju-

* Vide *Art.* 151.

† *Cath. Macaulay's Hist. of England*, Vol. I. p. 73.

‡ *Nichols's Translation of the Works of Arminius*, Vol. I. p. 455.

dices; and from this time we find him conferring all the highest ecclesiastical preferments upon the leaders of the Arminian party,—Buckeridge, Neile, Harsnet and Laud. The secret of all this was, that the English Divines of the Arminian party, seeing that their views could not be supported by an appeal to the Thirty-nine Articles, flattered the pretensions of James to unlimited power, and sheltered themselves under the wings of the prerogative.* The Puritans, on the other hand, were for the most part high Calvinists, and sided with the people in opposing the arbitrary encroachments of the King.† The same causes continued to operate through the remainder of the Stuart Dynasty, which was one continued struggle between republicanism and arbitrary monarchy, as regarded politics; and between Arminianism and Calvinism, as regarded religion. Nor has the effect of this change ceased to be felt even down to our own times; for, till within a comparatively recent period, the Church of England exhibited the strange anomaly of “a Calvinistic Creed, a Popish Liturgy, and an Arminian Clergy.”

On the accession of Charles the First, the Duke of Buckingham was appointed to the office of Prime Minister; and to him alone Lord Clarendon ascribes all the calamities which befel England during this reign. But these calamities are not attributable solely to the mismanagement of Buckingham. There were many predisposing causes already in existence,

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 132.

† *Rapin's Hist. of England*. Lond. 1732, Fol. Vol. II. p. 214.

which had their origin in the reign of James I. The Judges were grossly corrupt: the Council-Table had usurped the office of the Legislature: the Star-Chamber ruled everything in civil matters; and the Court of High Commission, which took cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, was more inquisitorial than the inquisition itself.*

The public state of religion was one of the first subjects to which the cabinet directed its attention; and Laud delivered to Buckingham, at his own request, a schedule, in which the names of the leading ecclesiastics were written out in two separate columns,—one column being marked with the letter *O* for *Orthodox*, and the other with *P* for *Puritans*.† The object of this is sufficiently plain. It served as a guide to Buckingham, in the distribution of patronage; and enabled him to point out to the King those Clergymen who were favourable, and those who were adverse to the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. Laud, at the same time, received orders to consult Bishop Andrews, what steps should be taken, in the ensuing Convocation, respecting the five distinguishing points of Calvinism. But the wary Bishop advised his brother Andrews to leave the subject untouched, because the majority of the Lower House were Calvinists, and forty-five of them had entered into an agreement to obstruct every measure, which tended towards Pelagianism, or Semi-Pelagianism.‡ But though the discussion of these knotty points was not allowed in the Con-

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. Chap. iii. pp. 153—160.

† *Rushworth's Hist. Recollections*, Fol., Lond. 1659, p. 167.

‡ *Neal's Hist.* Vol. II. p. 161.

vocation, they were perpetual themes of declamation out of doors. The press teemed with pamphlets on the Arminian controversy; and conferences were appointed, for the purpose of debating the subject, in which, as usual, both sides claimed the victory. The King at length interposed, and put a stop to these unseemly disputes, by issuing a Proclamation, the effect of which was to silence the Puritans, and give an unrestrained license to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party, under whose control the press then was.*

It is to this period in the history of the Church of England, that we may trace the origin of the Latitudinarian party, if that can be called a party, in which the greatest possible diversity of opinion prevailed, on almost every one of the usual topics of religious controversy. The object of this party was to put an end to the bitter strife which existed, between the more violent Episcopalians, and the more rigid Puritans; to widen the terms of religious communion, as far as it could be done, without affecting the unity and stability of the Established Church; and to excite among all classes of Protestants a feeling of mutual forbearance, and good-will. They advocated Episcopacy, simply on the ground of expediency, and not as an institution of divine appointment. They endeavoured also to limit the fundamental doctrines of Christianity to as few articles as possible; looking upon the disputes between Calvinists and Arminians as a mere war of words, or at least regarding such matters as the Five Points

* *Rushworth's Hist. Recollections*, pp. 412, 413.

as among the non-essentials of Christianity. But their efforts were misconstrued. Their attempts to harmonize the jarring elements of religious discord were ascribed to indifference, by the leading disputants on both sides; and the epithets *Atheist*, *Deist* and *Socinian*, were lavishly bestowed upon them by those, who were incapable of appreciating their motives, and doing justice to their enlarged and liberal views.

The opinions of Dr. Hampden, the present Bishop of Hereford, on certain points of theological controversy, have exposed him to the charge of Latitudinarianism. "But Latitudinarianism," as *Archdeacon Julius Charles Hare* observes, in reference to the case of his Lordship, "may be of divers kinds. One kind, which is utterly worthless, may result from an indifference about religious truth. Another kind may arise from a Christian, Apostolical largeness of spirit, which recognizes that all minor differences are of very subordinate, if of any importance, provided there be agreement upon the central principles of truth. In the interval between these two extremes there is room for many shades of opinion."* From this definition, it will at once be seen, that a perfect uniformity of opinion on the subject of the Trinity was not likely to exist, among the Latitudinarians of the reign of Charles the First. Some were perfectly orthodox on this article; others diverged into the opposite extreme of heterodoxy; and many adopted the intermediate path of Sabellianism, and Arianism, under some

* Letter to the Dean of Chichester on the Appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford, p. 37.

of their numerous modifications, and nice distinctions.

The most celebrated Latitudinarians of this period were, "the ever-memorable JOHN HALES of Eton;" "the immortal CHILLINGWORTH," and LUCIUS CAREY, LORD FALKLAND; and it is well known, that each of these has, in turn, fallen under the charge of Socinianism. To the last of this illustrious trio a place will be assigned in the body of this work.* Respecting the charge against the other two, the present seems to be the most suitable place to add a few words.

In the year 1636, *Edward Knott*, the Jesuit, published a pamphlet, entitled, "A Direction to be observed by N. N. if hee meane to proceede in Answering the Booke intituled, 'Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by the Catholics, &c.'" Its object was to prejudice the public mind against Chillingworth, by charging him with Socinianism, the most odious imputation which its author could find, and the best adapted to answer his sinister purpose. Of this pamphlet *M. Des Maizeaux* gives an abstract in his "Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth. London, 1725," 8vo.† It is divided into Five Chapters; and the heads of these Chapters will serve to give some idea of the extent to which Socinianism was supposed to prevail at that time. In Chap. i. the author gives an account of the Socinians, in which he does everything in his power to render them odious in the eyes of the public. In

* Vide *Art.* 275.

† Pp. 105—136.

Chap. ii. he adduces reasons why so many embrace Socinianism; viz. *first*, because the Protestants deny the infallibility of the Church of Rome, and have no infallible head of their own to fall back upon; *secondly*, because it is the aim of the Church of England to produce a mere outward conformity; *thirdly*, because Protestant Divines neglect the study of Scholastic Theology, and being superficial disputants, find themselves unable to solve the objections of the Socinians; and *fourthly*, because the men of those times would not be Catholics, and could not make up their minds to be Protestants, and therefore took the easy way of believing just what they chose. In Chap. iii. the author enumerates "diverse erroneous heresies, maintained by a certain Socinian," (meaning Chillingworth,) "contrary either to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, or to the faith of all Christians." Chap. iv. bears the title, "What the Answerer," (again meaning Chillingworth,) "is to observe, if he will speake to any purpose;" and Chap. v. relates to "the Motives for which the Answerer forsooke Protestantismc." The pamphlet extends through forty-two pages, 8vo., and professes to be printed "Permissu Superiorum." It is exceedingly scarce; and M. Des Maizeaux was never able to meet with more than a single copy, for the perusal of which he acknowledges himself indebted to Mr. Whiteside, the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

But strenuously as Knott has laboured to convict Chillingworth of Socinianism, he has failed to bring the charge home to him; and even Cheynell, who was Chillingworth's most bitter enemy, and who

published "A Prophane Catechisme, collected out of Mr. Chillingworth's Works," "fit," as he says, "for Racovia or Cracovia," has been equally unsuccessful.* "Indeed," says this contentious Divine, alluding to Chillingworth, in another of his works, "hee hath one Argument which makes me beleieve that he and more of that faction who countenance many Socinian errors, doe not agree with the Socinians in all points, because Socinianisme, if it be taken in all its demensions, is such a Doctrine by which no man in his right minde can hope for any honour or preferment either in this Church or State, or in any other."† Elsewhere he says, "either Mr. Chillingworth was guilty of some equivocation and sly evasion, or else he grew worse and worse, and would not anathematize a grosse Socinian. And if in these latter dayes Seducers grow worse and worse, I shall not wonder at it, 2 Tim. iii. 13."‡ But even here the charge of Socinianism is not substantiated against this great man; for every candid reader will readily accept the alternative, that he "would not anathematize a Socinian." There is, in fact, no evidence to prove that Chillingworth was a Socinian, if we except a notable passage in the "Sidney Papers," which led Whiston to say of him, "this Mr. Chillingworth had a strange diffidence and mutability of temper; which had made him when first a Protestant to turn Papist; and when a Papist,

* Chillingworthi Novissima, &c., by *Francis Cheynell*. London, 1644, 4to. Signature E 3—H 3.

† The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianisme: by *Fr. Cheynell*, late of Merton College. Lond. 1643, 4to. p. 31.

‡ Chillingworthi Novissima, Signature C 4.

to turn Protestant again; then to favour Arianism, as it is called, and on that account, in part by refusing to sign the 39 Articles, to lose some expected preferment; then to sign the 39 Articles, and accept of preferment, and after all to defend *Socinianism* itself.* But the passage, on which this last charge is founded, has been altogether misunderstood, as will be shewn in our account of Lucius Carey, the second Lord Falkland,† whom *Aubrey* designates “the first Socinian in England.” This quaint old writer, in his *Life of Chillingworth*,‡ throws out no suspicion as to his being tainted with heresy; but he tells us there,§ and elsewhere,|| that he has heard “Mr. Thomas Hobbes,” who knew Chillingworth well, say, that “he was like a lusty fighting fellow, that did drive his enemies before him, but would often give his owne party terrible smart back-blowes.”

Walker, in his “Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Number and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England,”¶ asserts that Chillingworth, on his re-conversion to Protestantism, “had a tincture of Socinianism;” but regarding him as a man of integrity, he contends that we have undeniable evidence of his subsequent orthodoxy, in the fact of his having afterwards accepted preferment in the Church, and subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles.

* *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. William Whiston*, written by himself. Lond. 1749, 8vo. p. 389. *Sidney Papers*, Vol. II. p. 669.

† Vide *Art.* 275.

‡ *Letters &c.* Vol. II. pp. 285—289.

§ P. 288.

|| Vol. III. p. 629.

¶ London, 1714, Fol. Pt. ii. p. 63.

Hales of Eton, like Chillingworth, has been accused of Socinianizing. It is well known, that he attended the Synod of Dort, though he did not go thither in the capacity of a Delegate. At that time he was a Calvinist; but in spite of the overwhelming preponderance of Calvinistic voices in that assembly, he returned to England an Arminian. He was accustomed to say to his intimate friends, that, at the well pressing of John iii. 16, by Episcopius, before the members of that Synod, he bade John Calvin good night.* After this he grew fond of the method of theologizing practised by the Remonstrants; and "being naturally of an open and frank disposition," as the writer of his life in the "*Biographia Britannica*" remarks, "he both talked and wrote in such a style as brought him under some suspicion of leaning a little to Socinianism." Cheynell, alluding to his celebrated tract on Schism, says, "I am credibly informed that when the Author of it was asked by a great person in this Kingdome, what he thought of the *Socinians*, he answered, 'If you could secure my life I would tell you what I think.'"† Aubrey says of him, "I have heard his nephew, Mr. Sloper, say, that he much loved to read Stephanus, who was a *Familist*, I thinke, that first wrote of that sect of the Familie of Love:‡ he was mightily taken with it, and was wont to say, that sometime or other these fine notions would take in the world. He was *one of the first* Socinians in England, I thinke *the first*."§ What credit may be due to

* Biog. Britan. *Art.* HALES, Note F. Vol. IV. p. 2483, Ed. 1757.

† The Rise, Growth and Danger of Socinianisme, Chap. iv. pp. 39, 40.

‡ Vide *Art.* 30.

§ Letters &c. Vol. III. p. 363.

these declarations, the reader must be left to judge for himself. In the mean time, the writer may be permitted to remark, without positively claiming either Hales or Chillingworth as an Antitrinitarian, that a higher compliment could not be paid to any body of Christians, than to say, that the opinions, and habits of thought, which distinguished such men, bear a resemblance, or an approximation to their own.

Laud, who was Chillingworth's godfather, and the head of the Anti-Puritanical party, succeeded the Duke of Buckingham as Prime Minister in 1628, when that nobleman was assassinated by Felton. The King entrusted to him the entire management of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the nation. One of his first acts, after his elevation to the See of London, had been to adopt summary measures for putting an end to the controversy respecting Predestination. For this purpose he caused the Thirty-nine Articles to be printed, with a Royal Declaration prefixed to them, prohibiting all such controversies, and requiring that no one should, in future, either preach or publish anything on the subject of God's decrees, but take the Article on that subject* "in the literal and grammatical sense," and not put upon it any private construction of his own, on pain of being brought to answer for it before the Ecclesiastical Commission.† The Calvinists petitioned against this Declaration, but without effect; and all publishers who disregarded the Royal In-

* Articles of the Church of England, No. xvii.

† *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. pp. 188, 189.

junction were summoned before the Court of Star-Chamber.

When the Parliament assembled, one of the first subjects, which came under the consideration of the House of Commons, was the King's Declaration; and it was voted, that the main object of that Declaration was to keep down the Puritans, by giving an unfair advantage to the opposite party. After several eloquent speeches, deprecating the Popish tendencies of the Government, the House entered the following doctrinal protest. "We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the publick Act of the Church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others that differ from us."*

From this brief sketch, a tolerably correct notion may be obtained of the state of religious parties, during the first few years of the reign of Charles I. The struggle, thus commenced, went on with little or no interruption, till the Puritanical party gained the ascendancy, and Calvinism prevailed not only in the Senate, but among a great part of the army, and throughout the nation at large.

In the mean time, however, Unitarianism was making its way silently and gradually; and winning proselytes among men of reflecting minds of all

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 193.

classes. As one indication of its progress, we may mention the following Sermon, printed for John Parker, in 1627. "The Arraignment of the Arrian; his Beginning, Height, Fall; in a Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse, June 4, 1624, being the First Sunday in Trinitie Term: by *Humphrey Sydenham*, Mr. of Arts, and Fellow of Wadham College in Oxford. London." 4to. The text of this Sermon is John viii. 58, "Before Abraham was, I am." The Sermon itself is the third of five, bearing the following title. "Five Sermons upon severall Occasions prech'd at Pauls Crosse, and at Saint Maries in Oxford: by *Humphrey Sydenham*, &c. London, printed by John Haviland, for Nicholas Tussell, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Ball in Pauls Church Yard, 1627." The following is a sample of the author's style. "Tell me devill (for hereticke is too cheap and low an attribute, when thou art growne to such a maturity and height of prophanation) was there a time when omnipotent God the Father was not, and yet there was a God? *Gird now up thy loynes, and answer if thou canst*, for if he began to be a Father, then he was first a God, and after made a Father, how is God then immutable, how the same one, when by accesse of generation he shall suffer change. Grant mee then a God eternall, and there must be a Father, a sonne too, they are relatiues, and cannot digest a separation either in respect of time or power."* We may judge, from the strength and earnestness of this language, as to the state of things

which called it forth; for the preachers of those days were not in the habit of fighting against shadows.

At length, in the year 1640, it was thought expedient to adopt measures for checking the progress of the Socinian Heresy, as it was termed. The Convocation of that year was opened, with unusual pomp, on the 14th of April, the day after the meeting of Parliament. The Sermon was preached by Dr. Turner, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, from Matthew x. 16,—“Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves;”—after which the members adjourned to the 17th of the same month, when Dr. Stewart, Dean of Chichester, was appointed Prolocutor; and his Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, was produced, authorising the Convocation, thus regularly constituted, to make and ordain certain Canons and Constitutions, for the establishing of true religion, and the profit of the state of the Church of England. Laud was at this time Archbishop of Canterbury, to which Province he had been translated in the year 1632;* and there was a clause in the Commission, in which it was particularly specified, that nothing should be done without his concurrence.† At the close of the Latin speech, which occupied nearly three quarters of an hour in the delivery, he dwelt with peculiar emphasis upon the kindness of his Majesty, in granting to that Convocation power to alter the old Canons, and frame new ones; a power, which had not been en-

* *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 17.

† *Collyer's Eccles. Hist.* p. 793. *Fuller's Church Hist. of Britain*, Bk. xi. § 11, 12, p. 167.

trusted to the clergy for many years, and which shewed, as he observed, what confidence His Majesty had in their integrity and ability.* It was also intended that many important additions should be made to the Book of Common Prayer in this Convocation.† But an unexpected stop was put to its proceedings, by the sudden dissolution of the Parliament, on Wednesday, the 6th of May.

According to ancient custom, the Convocation should have broken up at the same time; but in this instance the rule was not observed, and a new Commission was obtained from the King, authorizing the members to sit, not in the capacity of a Convocation, but of a Synod. A select committee of twenty-six was now appointed, and this committee, with the Prolocutor of the defunct Convocation as chairman, framed a new body of Constitutions and Canons, seventeen in number, which were published on the last day of June, but never carried into effect, or generally acknowledged as binding upon the clergy.‡ The fourth Canon, which was directed “against Socinianism,” was as follows.

“Whereas much mischief is already done in the Church of God by the spreading of the damnable and cursed Heresie of *Socinianism*, as being a complication of many ancient Heresies condemned by the four first general *Councils*, and contrariant to the Articles of Religion now established in the Church

* *Fuller's Church Hist.* Bk. xi. § 13, p. 168.

† *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 343.

‡ *Fuller's Church Hist.* Bk. xi. § 16—19, pp. 168, 169. *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical agreed upon with the Kings Majesties License*, 1640, p. 37.

of *England*. And whereas it is too apparent that the said wicked and blasphemous errors are unhappily dilated by the frequent divulcation and dispersion of dangerous Books, written in favour and furtherance of the same, whereby many, especially of the younger or unsettled sort of people, may be poisoned and infected: It is therefore decreed by this present Synod, That no Stationer, Printer, or Importer of the said Books, or any other person whatsoever, shall print, buy, sell or disperse any Book broaching or maintaining of the said abominable Doctrines or Positions, upon pain of Excommunication, *ipso facto* to be thereupon incurred: And we require all Ordinaries upon pain of the Censures of the Church, that beside the Excommunication aforesaid, they do certify their names and offences under their Episcopal Seal to the Metropolitan, by him to be delivered to his Majesties Attorney-General for the time being, to be proceeded withal according to the late Decree in the Honourable Court of Star-Chamber, against spreaders of prohibited Books. And that no Preacher shall presume to vent any such Doctrine in any Sermon under pain of Excommunication for the first offence, and Deprivation for the second. And that no Student in either of the Universities of this Land, nor any person in holy Orders, (excepting Graduates in Divinity, or such as have Episcopal or Archidiaconal Jurisdiction, or Doctors of Law in holy Orders,) shall be suffered to have or read any such Socinian Book or Discourse, under pain (if the offender live in the University) that he shall be punished according to the strictest Statutes provided there against the publishing, reading or maintaining of false Doc-

trine: or if he live in the City or Country abroad, of a Suspension for the first offence, and Excommunication for the second, and Deprivation for the third, unless he will absolutely and *in terminis* abjure the same. And if any Lay-man shall be seduced into this Opinion, and be convicted of it, he shall be Excommunicated, and not Absolved but upon due repentance and abjuration, and that before the Metropolitan, or his own Bishop at the least. And we likewise enjoin, that such Books, if they be found in any prohibited hand, shall be immediately burned: and that there be a diligent search made by the appointment of the Ordinary after all such Books, in what hands soever, except they be now in the hands of any Graduate in Divinity, and such as have Episcopal or Archidiaconal Jurisdiction, or any Doctor of Laws in holy Orders as aforesaid; and that all who now have them, except before excepted, be strictly commanded to bring in the said Books in the Universities to the Vicechancellors, and out of the Universities to the Bishops, who shall return them to such whom they dare trust with the reading of the said Books, and shall cause the rest to be burned. And we farther enjoin, that diligent enquiry be made after all such that shall maintain and defend the aforesaid Socinianism; and when any such shall be detected, that they be complained of to the several Bishops respectively, who are required by this Synod to repress them from any such propagation of the aforesaid wicked and detestable Opinions.”*

* Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, pp. 19—21.

The Fifth Canon was directed "against Sectaries," of whom the Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists and Familists are mentioned by name, and against whom the same penalties were threatened as against Popish recusants.

When this new body of ecclesiastical regulations was made public, it excited a general feeling of dissatisfaction throughout the kingdom;* and it was contended, that the Synod which framed these regulations was a body not recognized by the laws of England. Specific objections were advanced against some of the articles; and with regard to the Fourth it was said, that, "whereas the determination of heresy is expressly reserved to Parliament, the Convocation had declared that to be heresy which the law takes no notice of, and had condemned Socinianism in general, without declaring what was included under that denomination, so that, after all, it was left in their own breasts whom they would condemn, and censure under that character."†

Cheynell says, "I know the Archbishop of Canterbury did pretend to crush this cockatrice of *Socinianisme*, but all things being considered, it is to be feared that his Canon was ordained for concealing, rather than suppressing of *Socinianisme*; for he desired that none but his own party should be admitted to the reading of *Socinian* books; it was made almost impossible for any that were not of his party, to take the degree of *Batchelour of Divinity*

* *Fuller's Church Hist.* Bk. xi. § 24, p. 170.

† *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 375.

(I can say more in that point than another) or at least improbable they should have means to pay a groat a sheet for *Socinian* books."*

Parliament was again summoned for the 3rd of November; and on the 14th of December the House of Commons took into consideration "the new Canons made by the late Convocation." The principal speakers on this occasion were Sir Edward Deering, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and the Honourable Nathaniel Fiennes, second son of Lord Say.† The last of these alluded to the Canon against Socinianism in the following terms. "For the Fourth Canon against *Socinianism*, therein also these Canon-makers have assumed to themselves a parliament power, in determining a heresy not determined by law, which is expressly reserved to the determination of a Parliament. It is true they say it is a *complication of many heresies condemned in the four first Councils*, but they do not say what those heresies are, and it is not possible that *Socinianism* should be formally condemned in those Councils, for it sprung up but of late. Therefore they have taken upon them to determine and damn a heresy, and that so generally, as that it may be of very dangerous consequence. For condemning *Socinianism* for a heresy, and not declaring what is *Socinianism*, it is left in their breasts whom they will judge and call a *Socinian*. I would not have anything that I have said to be interpreted as if I had spoken it in favour of *Socinianism*, which, if it be such as I apprehend

* The Rise, Growth and Danger of Socinianisme, Chap. iv. p. 34.

† Parliamentary History, IX. 122, apud Mon. Rep. 1815, p. 430.

it to be, is indeed a most vile and damnable heresy.”*

On the 15th of December, the House passed the following resolution. “That the clergy, in a Synod or Convocation, hath no power to make Laws, Canons, or Constitutions, to bind either laity or clergy, without the Parliament; and that the Canons, made by the late Convocation, are against the fundamental laws of this realm, the King’s prerogative, propriety of the subject, the rights of Parliament, and do tend to faction, and sedition.” They also voted, “That a Bill be brought in, to fine those clergy, who sate in the late Convocation, and were Actors in making those Canons.”† Even *Fuller*, in his “Church History of Britain,”‡ justifies the non-observance of these Canons; and thinks it enough to mention their number, and give their titles.

Sir P. Warwick, in his “Memoires of the Reign of King Charles I.,” says, under the year 1640, § “the bowing at the name of *Jesus* hath a book written against it with no less a title than ‘Jesu-Worship confuted.’” He adds, on the authority of a gentleman, passing by at the time, that the book was “cried in the streets and sold.” Who was the writer of this tract does not appear. In Dr. Williams’s Library there is a copy of it, bearing the following title. “Jesu-Worship confuted, or, Certain Arguments against bowing at the name of

* Speeches and Passages of this Great and Happy Parliament, from the 3rd of Nov., 1640, to this Instant, June 1641, p. 49. Vide Mon. Rep. Vol. X. (1815) p. 430.

† *Whitelocke’s Mem. of Charles I.* p. 37.

‡ Bk. xi. § 19, p. 169.

§ P. 152.

Jesus; proving it to be idolatrous and superstitious, and so utterly unlawful; with Objections to the Contrary fully answered: by H. B. London, 1660." It is a small quarto, consisting of no more than eight pages, and might have been written by a Unitarian: at least the tract itself contains nothing, from which the opposite inference could be fairly drawn. It may, however, have been the production of some Puritanical writer, who considered the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus as a relic of Popery. This practice had become very common, since the publication of the Authorized Version of the Bible, in which the words *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ*, (Philip. ii. 10,) are rendered "AT the name of Jesus," and not "IN the name of Jesus," as they stood in the older English Bibles, and the earlier editions of the Book of Common Prayer. It was also enjoined in the Canons of 1603,* as a mark of reverence towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and an acknowledgment that he is "the true and eternal Son of God."† Laud had been very particular in enforcing the observance of this Canon, especially among the clergy; and had caused several Ministers to be fined, censured, and even suspended, for the neglect of it. But the Puritans very properly protested against it, as an act of superstition, because it appeared to them like worshiping a mere name, or at least paying a respect to the name *Jesus*, which they withheld from that of *Christ* and *Immanuel*.‡

In 1641, the Bishops were impeached, and the

* Canon 18.

† *Constitutiones sive Canones Ecclesiastici*, &c. Lond. 1604, p. 7.

‡ *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 255.

Court of Star-Chamber abolished. Events like these now followed each other in such rapid succession, that some of the Puritans became almost frantic with excitement; and the Socinians, as the Unitarians were then generally called, (the word *Arian* being almost dropped,) were among the first on whom they discharged the vials of their wrath. The self-styled "Orthodox" party had dealt more leniently with these reputed heretics, in the day of its power, so as to afford some ground for the suspicion, that its sympathies were with, rather than against them. But the scene was now changed; and the Unitarians were made to feel, that, whatever security there might be for others, neither protection nor toleration would be extended towards them.

The Assembly of Divines met on the 1st of July, 1643, at Westminster, to consult about matters of religion,* and continued its sittings till February 22nd, 1649.† It consisted of thirty Lay-Assessors, among whom were several of the most eminent lawyers of the day, and a hundred and twenty-one Divines, the majority of whom were men of exemplary piety, and devout lives, though of contracted views, and little disposed to enlarge the terms of communion. About twenty of them were Episcopalians, and seven or eight Independents. The rest were, without exception, Presbyterians.‡ One of the most active of the Presbyterian members was the Rev. Francis Cheynell, a man of extensive learning, and no contemptible abilities, but "troubled,"

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. III. p. 62.

† P. 491.

‡ Pp. 54—62.

as Wood says, "with a weakness in his head, which some in his time called craziness;"* and a bitter reviler of all who differed from him in opinion, if their conduct, however indirectly or remotely, tended to advance the progress of liberal opinions in religion. Dr. Johnson published an account of this singular man, in a work called "The Student;" and commenced his memoir as follows. "There is always this advantage in contending with illustrious adversaries, that the combatant is equally immortalized by conquest or defeat. He that dies by the sword of a hero, will always be mentioned when the acts of his enemy are mentioned. The man, of whose life the following account is offered to the public, was indeed eminent among his own party, and had qualities, which, employed in a good cause, would have given him some claim to distinction; but no one is now so much blinded with bigotry, as to imagine him equal either to Hammond or Chillingworth; nor would his memory, perhaps, have been preserved, had he not, by being conjoined with illustrious names, become the object of public curiosity."†

Cheynell was indefatigable in his opposition to Unitarianism, which was now making rapid progress in England. He published, in 1643, a work on this subject, containing, as we are told,‡ the substance of three or four SERMONS,—singular productions, no doubt, of their kind, and such as no

* *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. II. p. 359.

† *The Works of Samuel Johnson LL.D.* Lond. 1820. Vol. XII. p. 191.

‡ *Athen. Oxon.* ubi supra.

one, but their busy and eccentric author, would have thought of delivering from a Christian pulpit. The title of the work, in its printed form, was as follows. "The Rise, Growth and Danger of Socinianisme: together with a plain Discovery of a desperate Design of corrupting the Protestant Religion, whereby it appears that the Religion which hath been so violently contended for (by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Adherents) is not the true pure Protestant Religion, but an Hotchpotch of Arminianisme, Socinianisme and Popery, &c.: by Francis Cheynell late Fellow of Merton Colledge. London, 1643." 4to. In the course of this work, the author charges not only Laud, but Potter, Hales and Chillingworth, with dressing up the aforesaid "Hotchpotch;" and boasts of having shewn, "that the Atheists, Anabaptists and Sectaries so much complained of" in those times, were "raised or encouraged by the doctrines and practises of the Arminian, Socinian and Popish party."

The work is dedicated "to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Say and Seale;" and in the course of the Dedication, allusion is made to the translation of a Socinian book by one MR. WEBBERLEY, which was found in that gentleman's chamber at Oxford, and the discovery of which appears to have suggested to the reverend author the idea of writing a history of the "Rise, Growth and Danger of Socinianisme."* The Dedicatory Epistle is dated April 18th, 1643; and at the end of it is the following *Imprimatur*. "It is ordered this eighteenth day of Aprill, 1643, by the Committee of the House of

* Vide *Art.* 276.

Commons in Parliament concerning printing, that this book entitled the Rise, Growth and Danger of Socinianisme, &c. be printed. *John White.*" The title sufficiently explains the object of the writer. The work is divided into six Chapters, which treat upon the following subjects. "CHAP. i. Of the Rise of Socinianisme. CHAP. ii. Of the Growth of Socinianisme. CHAP. iii. The Danger of Socinianisme. CHAP. iv. Whether England hath been, or still is in danger to be farther infected with Socinianisme. CHAP. v. Shewes that the famous Atheists (Anabaptists and Sectaries) so much complained of, have been raised, or encouraged by the doctrines and practises of the Arminian, Socinian and Popish party. CHAP. vi. The Religion so violently contended for by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his adherents, is not the true pure Protestant Religion."

The late Rev. R. Aspland gave an analysis of the contents of this curious production, in the "Monthly Repository" for 1815,* with occasional extracts from it; and the reader, who wishes for further information on the subject, and is not able to procure a sight of the book itself, which is now exceedingly scarce, will there find enough to satisfy his curiosity, and to convince him, that Dr. Johnson was not far from the truth, when he penned the following character of its author. "Whatever he believed (and the warmth of his imagination naturally made him precipitate in forming his opinions) he thought himself obliged to profess; and what

* Vol. X. pp. 81—83. 162—165. 364, 365. 497—500.

he professed he was ready to defend, without that modesty which is always prudent, and generally necessary, and which, though it was not agreeable to Mr. Cheynel's temper, and therefore readily condemned by him, is a very useful associate to truth, and often introduces her by degrees, where she never could have forced her way by argument or declamation."*

In the year 1644, this ardent and imaginative Divine favoured the world with another of his productions, under the following title. "Chillingworthi Novissima: or the Sicknesse, Heresy, Death, and Buriall of William Chillingworth (In his own phrase) Clerk of Oxford, and in the conceit of his Fellow Souldiers, the Queens Arch-Engineer, and Grand-Intelligencer; set forth in A Letter to his Eminent and learned Friends, a Relation of his Apprehension at Arundell, a Discovery of his Errours in a Briefe Catechism, and a short Oration at the Buriall of his Hereticall Book: by Francis Cheynell, &c. London, 1644." 4to. Mr. Locke, in a Letter to Anthony Collins, Esq., dated Sept. 10th, 1703, calls this "one of the most villainous books that was ever printed." He had long been desirous of obtaining a sight of it, but could nowhere meet with a copy, till his friend, Collins, sent him one. In acknowledging the receipt of it, he says, "It is a present I highly value. I had heard something of it, when a young man in the University; but possibly should never have seen this quintessence of railing, but for your kindness. It ought to be kept as the pattern and

* Works, Vol. XII. p. 193.

standard of that sort of writing, as the man he spends it upon, for that of good temper, and clear and strong arguing."* This "villainous" book of Cheynell's was reprinted by John Noon, in 1725, "with an Introduction, specifying the dismal effects of bigotry in all parties," and a motto from the above passage of Locke. But for the present we must take our leave of Cheynell, and pass on to other subjects.

About the time of Chillingworth's death, the Baptists began to attract considerable notice, and to meet together in separate congregations. Entering, as was natural, into the leading controversies of the day, they formed themselves into two distinct classes; the General, or Arminian, and the Particular, or Calvinistic Baptists. They are said to have had forty-seven congregations in the country, and seven in London. In their Confession of Faith, consisting of fifty-two Articles, which they made public, they professed their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity.† Yet there were unquestionably Baptists at this time, who rejected that doctrine. Hornius expressly states, that, in the year 1644, at Bath and Bristol, these two opinions burst in upon them like a glorious light: *first*, that the human nature of Christ, like our own, was corrupted by Original Sin; and *secondly*, that there is only one person in the Deity.‡ These opinions, we are told, were frequently discussed, and extensively propagated, by the Baptists

* A Collection of Several Pieces of *Mr. John Locke*, never before printed, or not extant in his Works; pp. 202, 263, apud *Maizeaux's* Life of Chillingworth, p. 370.

† *Neal's* Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. III. pp. 159—162.

‡ *Geo. Hornii* Hist. Eccles. Francof. ad Moen. 1704, p. 642.

in that part of England.* Hornius also mentions a certain schismatic, who, on the 27th of February, 1644, preached, in London, that Christ was no more God, than he himself, or any other man was; "which when some pious persons heard," continues the historian, "fearing lest the house should fall at such blasphemies, they hastened to their own homes."† The place where this happened, as we learn from another source,‡ was one of the private Churches in Bell-Alley. The preacher added, according to Mr. Edwards, that, "though Christ was a prophet, and did miracles, yet he was not God." A report of this address was made to a Parliamentary Committee, and attested by three persons who were present at its delivery; and the Rev. Philip Nye, in the course of a conversation, which he had upon the subject with some Divines, who were then sitting in the Assembly at Westminster, said, that to his knowledge the denying of the Divinity of Christ was a growing opinion, and that there was a society of such persons, which met somewhere about Coleman Street, with a Welchman as their chief. Who this Welchman was does not appear; for Thomas Lamb, the first Minister of a Baptist Society in that vicinity, was a native of Colchester.§

Hall, Bishop of Norwich, pathetically bewails the miserable and distracted state of the English Church

* Gangræna: or a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time, vented and acted in England in the last four Yeers, &c. by *Thomas Edwards* Minister of the Gospel. London, 1646, 4to, Pt. i. Letters &c. p. 1.

† Hist. Eccles. p. 638.

‡ Gangræna. Letters &c. p. 26.

§ *Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, Vol. II. p. 432.

in those times; and says, that the minds of Christian men were seduced, not only by Papists, Anabaptists, Antinomians and Pelagians, but also, through the infernal Socinian heresy, by Antitrinitarians and New Arians; so that the final destruction of Christianity was to be feared.*

A Presbyterian Minister in Bristol, writing to a brother Minister in London, says, "One of the greatest rubs in the towne, is the broaching of a mad error, concerning the justification of Saints by the essentiall righteousness of God, and not by Christs obedience, which some do hold, and express with a world of vanitie and contempt of Christ."† This opinion on the subject of Justification was probably first broached by the Baptists. Edwards has preserved the copy of a letter, written from Bath about the year 1646, by a person advocating similar views, whom he calls "a great sectary in those parts." How far this letter bears out the charge, that the persons holding the above opinion express it "with a world of vanitie and contempt of Christ," the reader will be able to judge by a perusal of its contents, which are as follow.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus, My dearest respects and unexpressable love remembred to you, longing to see your face in the flesh, that we might be comforted together in the discovery of what the Lord hath made known unto us of that great mystery, *God manifest in the flesh*: In which is discovered His everlasting love to the Sons of men, which

* *Hornii Hist. Eccles.* p. 580. *Bp. Hall's Irenicum*, Sect. 23.

† *Gangræna*, Pt. ii. p. 116.

he hath been alwayes discovering in all Ages, since the beginning of the world to this day, but darkly, vailedly, hiddenly as it were; so that all those several wayes of Gods dealing with the Sons of men, have been still so many pledges of his love, so that God hath not been discovering divers things to the Sons of men, but one thing at several times in divers manners. Therefore I behold but one thing in all the Scriptures, under divers Administrations: So I understand the two Covenants to be but two Administrations of one thing; and that which makes the Scriptures Law or Gospel, is our understanding of them in either of those two considerations: So that Christ Jesus came to witnesse and declare this love of God to us, *not to procure it for us*: For if God had at any time any displeasure to us, he had been changeable, seeing before the world began, he saw us lovely in his Son. Now I conceive Christs coming, was more like a Conqueror to destroy the enmity in our nature, and for to convince us of the Love of God to us, by destroying in our nature, that we thought stood between God and us, according to that of the Apostle, Heb. 2. 'For as much as the Children were partakers of flesh and blood, he likewise took part of the same,' To what end? 'To destroy him who had the power of death:' Who is that? 'The Diuel:' Why so? 'To deliver them who through fear of death were all their life time subject to bondage:' So that we being in bondage, his coming was to deliver us, *not to procure the love of God, to us, or satisfy him*, as some say: He was as I may so say, a most glorious publisher of the Gospel, as he himself saith, 'He was sent to preach

the Gospel, to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised,' Luke 14. 18, 19. All that which Christ here saith to be the end of his coming, is *not a word mentioned of any thing done by him in way of satisfying God.* Again, Joh. 18. 37, Jesus saith to Pilate, 'To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world,' namely, 'to bear witness to the truth.' Oh me thinks how ignorant to this day is the world of the end of Christs coming! which makes them so dark in understanding *what Christ is*: people look upon him so to be God, as not at all to be man: whereas I am of the minde, *he was very man of the same nature with us*: for otherwise it would be no encouragement to us, to go to the Father upon the same ground that Christ is entred, if he was of a more holier nature then us; but in this appears Gods love to us, that he would take one of us in the same condition, to convince us of what he is to us, and hath made us to be in him: That now we are to stand still and behold the glory of God come forth, and brought to light by the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light: Therefore he saith, I will declare thy name to my brethren. O then let us behold Christ Jesus in all that he is to be the representation of God to us, in which same glory, God hath and ever will behold us; which the more we behold, we shall see our selves changed into the same Image from glory to glory. Me thinks the beholding of Christ to be holy in the flesh, is a dishonour to God, in that we should conceive holinesse

out of God, which is *to make another God*. Again it would be a dishonour to Christ, in that he would be but fleshly: And again, a discomfort to the Saints, in that he should be of a more holier nature than they, as being no ground for them to come near with boldnesse to God: Again, *it is to make the body of Christ a monster, the head of one nature, the body of another*. Now to conceive all fulnesse of holinesse in God, and that CHRIST *is and ever was*, and the Saints in him, beheld holy, righteous, and unblameable, *as THEY are and ever were*, beheld in the Spirit in union with God, having their being in him: and so its said, the fulnesse of God dwelt in Christ, and ye are compleat in him, one God, and Father of all, who is above all, through all, and in you all.”*

The work, in which the above letter is preserved, was printed in London, A.D. 1646. The author professes to confine himself to the exposure, and refutation of opinions, which were currently believed, when his book was published, all of which had been broached, as he affirms, within the four preceding years, and most of them within two years, or less.† He dwells particularly upon the mixed character of the existing sects; and says, that several are compounded of many, and some of all. Even among the Independents, or “Dissenting Brethren” as they were called in the palmy days of Presbyterianism, he seems to think, that there was no such thing as a strictly Independent Church, or even an individual professor, who did not symbolize, more

* Gangræna, Pt. i. Letters, &c. pp. 7—9.

† Pt. i. p. 1.

or less, with other sects.* “’Tis remarkable,” says he, “that now for present the best Independent Churches and Congregations are *mixed* Assemblies and medlies, consisting of persons whereof some are Anabaptists, some Antinomians, some Libertines, others hold Arminian and *Socinian* Tenets.—Mr. Symonds Independent Church at Roterdam is overgrowne with Anabaptisme, and he hath written into England that he is so pestered with Anabaptists, that he knew not what to do; Mr. Sympsons Church hath bred divers Seekers, Mr. Lockiers Antinomians, Master John Goodwins company is an unclean Conventicle, where the spirit of Errour and pride prevails in most, the unclean spirit being entred there into himself and his people with seven evill spirits, *Socinian*, Arminian, Popish, Anabaptisticall, Libertine Tenets being held by himself and many of his people.”† Nor was this kind of syncretism confined to one part of the kingdom. It extended to all parts; but prevailed most in Middlesex, and the adjoining counties.‡ It pervaded the army also: and whenever a city or town was taken, during the Civil Wars, the soldiers invariably introduced some new opinions among the inhabitants, so that every deliverance, and every victory were made the means of spreading the contagion.§

Edwards has been at the pains of drawing up a Catalogue of the opinions which obtained currency, during the four years to which he confines himself. In the First Part of his “*Gangræna*,” he has enu-

* P. 13.

† Pt. ii. p. 13.

‡ Pt. i. p. 2.

§ Pt. ii. p. 80.

merated no fewer than 176 "Errours, Heresies and Blasphemies;"* and as his work advanced, this Catalogue was augmented. But some of the opinions, to which he has given these hard names, frequently pass current as orthodox in our own times; and even over those which do not, the legislature, by a wise and judicious policy, now extends the shield of its protection.

The following are probably a fair specimen of those, to which, in the reign of Charles I., the epithet "Socinian" would have been applied; although several of them are far from being in accordance with the real opinions of Socinus, and his followers. 100. That in points of religion, even in the Articles of faith, and principles of religion, there is nothing certainly to be believed and built on, except that all men ought to have liberty of conscience, and liberty of prophesying. 148. That Christian Magistrates have no power at all to meddle in matters of religion, or things ecclesiastical, but in civil affairs only, concerning the bodies and goods of men. 158. That it is unlawful for Christians to defend religion with the sword, or to fight for it when men come with the sword to take it away; because religion will defend itself. 142. That a few private Christians, (as six or seven gathering themselves into a covenant, and Church fellowship,) have an absolute, entire power of the keys, and all government within themselves; and are not under any authoritative power of any Classes, Synods, or General Councils, whatever they do, or whatever plans

* Pt. i. pp. 16—31.

they adopt. 8. That right reason is the rule of faith, and that we are to believe the Scriptures, and the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Resurrection, so far as we see them to be agreeable to reason, and no further. 24. That in the Unity of the Godhead there is not a Trinity of Persons; and that the doctrine of the Trinity is a Popish tradition, and a doctrine of Rome. 25. That there are not three distinct Persons in the divine essence, but only three offices; and that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are not Persons, but Offices. 26. That there is but one Person in the divine nature. 27. That Jesus Christ is not very God, or God essentially, but nominally only; and that he is not the eternal Son of God by eternal generation, and may no otherwise be called the Son of God but as he was man. 28. That Christ's human nature is defiled with Original Sin as well as ours. 31. That he died for all men alike; for the reprobate as well as the elect, and that not only sufficiently but effectually; for Judas as well as Peter; for the damned in hell, as well as for the saints in heaven. 34. That he died only for sins past, (that is, before the Gospel is revealed to the sinner,) and not for sins committed after conversion, since they are pardoned by his being a continual sacrifice. 39. That Christ did not by his death purchase life and salvation for all, or even for the elect; because it was not the end of God, in the coming of Christ, to purchase love and life; but Christ himself was purchased by love, that he might make out love, and purchase us to love. 40. That Christ Jesus came into the world to declare the love of God to us, not

to procure it for us, or, as some say, to satisfy God; because in all that Christ said about the end of his coming, there is not a word mentioned of anything done by him in the way of satisfying God. 47. That Christ, by his death, freed all men from a temporal death, (which Adam's sin only deserved,) by purchasing them a resurrection, and that he has opened to them a way to come to the Father, if they will: that he died for all thus far, but no further for any. 55. That Adam, even though he had remained in a state of innocence, and not fallen, would have died a natural death, because death is now not a fruit of sin to believers. 56. That God's image is on every man, the bad as well as the good. 57. That Adam, and mankind in him, lost not the image of God by his fall, but only incurred a temporal, or corporeal death, which was suspended for a time on the promise of a Saviour. 58. That there is no Original Sin in us; and that Adam's first sin is the only Original Sin. 59. That the guilt of Adam's sin is imputed to no man; and that no man is punished for Adam's sin. 37. That the Heathen, who never heard of Christ by the Word, have the Gospel; because all creatures, as the sun, moon and stars, preach the Gospel to men, and in them is revealed the knowledge of Christ crucified, and sin pardoned, if they had eyes to see it. 38. That the Heathen who perish, perish only for not believing according to the Gospel they enjoy. 45. That the Heathen are saved, if they serve God according to the knowledge that God hath given them, though they never heard of Christ. 165. That it could not stand with the goodness

of God, to damn his creatures eternally. 167. That there will be a general restoration, in which all men will be reconciled to God, and saved; but that those who now believe, and are saints, before this restoration, will be in a higher condition than those who do not believe. 176. That it is not consistent with the character of God, to pick and choose among men in shewing mercy; that if the love of God be manifested to a few, it is far from being infinite, unless he shew mercy to all; and that to ascribe this selection to his will or pleasure, is to blaspheme his excellent name and nature.

Among the persons professing these, and similar opinions, or some of them, PAUL BEST, WILLIAM ERBURY, and one HAWES, stand conspicuous. The accounts, which the author of "Gangræna" gives of these men,* ought perhaps to be taken with some grains of allowance; for Thomas Edwards, the author of that strange medley, was a credulous person, and was doubtless occasionally imposed upon by the correspondents and emissaries, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the information which his book contains.

A reply to the First Part of "Gangræna" was published by the Rev. John Goodwin, under the title of "Cretensis: or a Brief Answer to an Ulcerous Treatise;" the object of which, as the word "Cretensis" indicates, was to shew, that Mr. Edwards sometimes recorded as facts the lying reports of the day, and that his book was not to be depended upon, as a faithful narrative of passing events. Other

* Vide *Art.* 277—279.

replies were published by Mr. Jeremiah Burroughes, Mr. Saltmarsh, Mr. Walwyn, Mr. Bacon, and Thomas Webbe. The title of Webbe's pamphlet, which deserves notice on account of its quaintness, was as follows. "Mr. Edwards Pen no slander: or, the Gangræna once more searched: which being found very full of corrupt matter, that part of his foul mouth is seringed, and washed with a moderate Answer, given by Thomas Web, to that part of his book, wherein Mr. Edwards chargeth him for delivering severall Antinomian Doctrines. In which Answer is proved, that many things wherewith Mr. Edwards chargeth him, is false. Also, that Mr. Edwards charging any in such a nature is contrary to rule, and against all examples in Scripture, and tends unto division in these distracting times. By Thomas Webbe. 1 Cor. 16. 14.—2 Cor. 13. 8.—Ephes. 4. 31, 32. London, 1646." 4to. Pp. 14. The author of "Gangræna" had charged Webbe with saying, that a saint may say he is equal with Christ, and count it no robbery. "I could wish," says Webbe in reply, "with all my heart, that he would (if it had been an errour) have done God so much service as to have disproved it; I was speaking out of John 17. 22. The words are these; 'The glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as thou Father and I are one.' From these words, after some time spent, in shewing what this glory was in general, I came to the particulars, or drawing of it out in branches; and the first was, 'God's love the same to Saints as to Christ;' which I proved by many testimonies, which now I shall not name: but there being amongst many

Scriptures, one very pertinent to the same thing, I named it; which is Vers. 23, 'Thou hast loved them as thou hast loved me.'"^{*} Another charge, which Mr. Edwards had brought against Webbe, was, that in the course of conversation with an honest Christian in Colchester, he had denied that it was lawful to say, "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost," for then there were three Gods; and on being asked whether this was his own opinion, or whether he said it merely for argument's sake, he was silent. Webbe denies that he ever gave utterance to such a sentiment; and says, "I truly believe God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the Holy Ghost, and yet but one, taking the said God (that is the Father) to be both Sonne and Holy Ghost."[†] To this Mr. Edwards replies, that "wee are taught from the Scriptures by all Orthodox Divines, that though everie Person be God, as the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God; yet the Father is not the Son, nor the Father is not the Holy Ghost; nor the Son the Father, nor the Holy Ghost."[‡] But he still persists in the original charge, of which he says that he "can produce good proof;" adding, "If a Committee of Parliament shall be pleased to take notice of it, and send for this Web, and proceed against him upon proof, I am ready to produce witnesses, and upon his owne confession and those witnesses to make prooffe."[§] To believe too much, and upon too easy terms, was the infirmity of the author of "Gangræna;" yet, when every allowance is made

^{*} P. 7.

[†] Pp. 7, 8.

[‡] Gangræna, Pt. ii. pp. 114, 115.

[§] P. 114.

for the exaggeration which pervades that curious work, there is, it must be admitted, a sufficient degree of truth in it to justify the conclusion, that Antitrinitarianism had advanced with rapid strides in England, since the burning of Legate and Wightman, in the reign of James the First.

In a Postscript, the author adds, as coming "from good hands,—four other errors, not before named," in order to "make up the hundred and seventy-six, just a hundred and fourscore." These are as follow.

"1. That the form by which men baptize, viz. 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' is a form of man's devising, a tradition of man, and not a form left by Christ. 2. That those Scriptures of Mat. 20. 19. Mark 16. 15, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them,' are not understood of baptizing with water, but of the Spirit's baptizing, or the baptism of the Holy Ghost; and that the baptism of Christ by water was only in the name of Jesus Christ, not of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as is now practised. 3. That the Gospel doth not more set its spirit against anything of Antichrist, than against this point of external uniformity in the worship of God; and that uniformity is Antichristian; and uniformity is the mystery of iniquity; 'Tis the burden of the Saints, the bondage of the Church, the straightening of the Spirit, the limiting of Christ, and the eclipsing the glory of the Father. 4. Christ hath not promised his presence and spirit to Ministers more than to other believers, nor more to a hundred than to two or three; and if two or three in the country, being met together in the name of Christ,

have Christ himself with his Word and Spirit among them, they need not ride many miles to the Assembly at London, to know what to do, or how to carry and behave themselves in the things of God: And therefore for any company of men of what repute soever, to set up their own judgement in a kingdom for a peremptory rule from which no man must vary, and to compel all the faithful people of God to fall down before it, &c. is a far worse work than that of King Nebuchadnezzar setting up a golden image, and forcing all to fall before it, seeing spiritual idolatry is so much worse than corporal, as the spirit is better than the flesh. The Spiritual Church is taught by the anointing, the Carnal Church by Councils.”*

We have, in an Appendix to the third edition of “Gangræna,” a further Catalogue of Errors and Heresies, sent up to town by “a godly Minister in Somersetshire, to be communicated to some Divines of the Assembly,” and printed verbatim from the writer’s manuscript. This Catalogue is entitled, “New Lights, and glorious, pure Truths, (or rather old Heresies, and blasphemous Doctrines of Devils,) held forth by the bespotted Churches of *Independents* in these parts.” The locality here meant, as we are told in a note, is “Somersetshire.” The “New Lights, and glorious, pure Truths” are twelve in number; and the fourth and fifth, which are by no means the most heretical, are thus expressed. “4. That Christ’s human nature is not hypostatistically united to the divine nature, for *these Churches*

* Gangræna, Part i. P. S. pp. 104, 105.

*do not confess Christ to be God; nay, they earnestly deny his Godhead, and affirm the Creed of Athanasius to be full of blasphemies. 5. They deny the Trinity of persons in the deity, and affirm that there is but one person in the Godhead: for if there be three persons, there must needs be three Gods, and that Athanasius in his Creed doth blaspheme.”**

As these doctrines differ so widely from those of the modern Independents, it is but justice to that religious body, to point out the cause of the difference, and the manner in which it originated.

Those, who advocate the congregational form of Church Government, date their origin, as a sect, from Robert Brown, a clergyman of the reign of Elizabeth, whose followers received the name of *Brownists*. Many of them emigrated, with their leader, to Holland: but after residing a short time at Middleburgh, they began to quarrel, and broke up into parties; so that Brown himself, unable any longer to retain his control over them, returned to England in 1585, and left them to settle their disputes among themselves.† About seven years after the return of Brown, several of those who had remained in England were banished, and joined their exiled brethren in Holland. In the year 1596, they published a Confession of Faith, in the second Article of which they explicitly declared their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity.‡ On the accession

* Pt. i. App. pp. 110, 111.

† *Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, Vol. I. pp. 14—16.

‡ An Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly, (but vnjustly) called Brownists: Against such Imputations as are layd vpon them by the Heads and Doctors of the Vniversity of Oxford, &c., 1604, 4to, p. 14.

of James I, they petitioned that monarch, at three separate times, for permission to reside in England, and worship God in their own way, without molestation; calling his Majesty's attention both to the doctrine and discipline, by which their Churches were distinguished. But the prayer of their petitions was not granted. In the mean time, they increased greatly in numbers, both in England and Holland. Many of them emigrated from England to America, while others remained behind, and endured grievous persecutions at home.* At the commencement of the Long Parliament, the yoke under which they had so longed groaned was broken; and they enjoyed more liberty than they had done, from the time in which they began to exist, as a separate religious body. This we learn from a small pamphlet published in London, A.D. 1643, and entitled, "Certaine Considerations to dissuade Men from fvrther gathering of Churches in this presnt Juncture of Time: subscribed by diverse Divines of the Assembly, hereafter mentioned." As the names appended to this document may be interesting to some readers, they are here subjoined; and, for the sake of distinction, those of "the Dissenting Brethren," or Independent Divines, who were honoured with seats in the Westminster Assembly, are printed in Italics.

William Twisse.

Thomas Goodwin.

John White.

Oliver Bowles.

William Carter.

Herbert Palmer.

Sidrach Simpson.

William Greenhill.

* Ibid. pp. 35. 81.

Stephen Marshall.	<i>Jer. Burroughes.</i>
<i>Phillip Nye.</i>	Richard Heyricke.
Charles Herle.	Joseph Carrill.
Anthony Tuckney.	Thomas Hill.
Jo. Arrowsmith.	Thomas Wilson.
<i>William Bridge.</i>	Jer. Whitakers.
Thomas Young.	

In the works published about this time, a distinction is sometimes made between Independency and Brownism.* The *Brownists* generally denied, that the Church of England was a true Church; but the less rigid Congregationalists, who took the name of *Independents*, opposed this view. The first who is known to have done this in print was the Rev. Henry Jacob, who published, in 1599, "A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England: written in two Treatises against the Reasons and Objections of Mr. Francis Johnson, and others of the Separation commonly called Brownists: published especially, for the Benefit of those in these Parts of the Low Countries. Middleburgh. By Richard Schilders, Printer to the States of Zealand." To this "Defence" a reply was published in the year following, entitled, "An Answer to Maister H. Jacob his Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England: by Francis Johnson, an Exile of Jesus Christ." But the Rev. John Robinson is generally regarded as the father of the Independents. He advised his followers to shake off the name of

* Gangraena, Pt. i. p. 13. Letters, &c. p. 27. The Opening of Master Prynnes new Book, called A Vindication: or, Light breaking out from a Cloud of Differences, or late Controversies, &c. London, 1645, 4to, p. 1.

Brownists, and struck out a middle way between the Brownists and the Presbyterians;* and Mr. Jacob, who visited him at Leyden about 1609 or 1610, adopted his opinions respecting Church Government, which have since been known by the name of *Independency*.†

The substance of the following draught of the constitution of an Independent Church, at the beginning of the Long Parliament, is borrowed from "The Second Part of the Duply to M.S., alias Two Brethren, &c. with a brief Epitome and Refutation of all the whole Independent Government: by Adam Steuart. London, 1644." 4to.‡ The breadth of the basis upon which it rests is honourable to the religious body from whom it emanated, and notwithstanding the narrowness of the terms of communion, it will bear a comparison, as regards the doctrinal latitude which it allows, and its unqualified recognition of the right of free inquiry, with any system of Church Government in Christendom; nor does it redound to the credit of the Independents in later times, that they have departed from a model so Catholic and admirable.

The *Independent Church* is so called, because no particular congregation, whatever may be its doctrinal sentiments, will recognize the authority, or submit to the government of any other Church, or of all other Churches put together, however orthodox, or holy those Churches may be. It is called *Coetus Fidelium*, a company of believers, meeting in one place every Lord's-day, for the administration

* *Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, Vol. I. pp. 30—36.

† P. 38.

‡ Pp. 191—194.

of the holy ordinances of God, to public edification. It is held necessary to the constitution of a Church, and of every individual member, that they all join together in a particular *Church-covenant*, in which they all pledge themselves to live in the faith, and in subjection to all the ordinances of God, cleaving one to another, as members of one body, and not departing from the particular Church of which they become members, without the consent of that Church. The *antecedents* of this covenant are, first, sundry meetings together of such as are to join it, till they have sufficient proof and trial of each other's spiritual state: secondly, the civil magistrate's consent to set up their Church: thirdly, the consent of neighbour Churches: fourthly, the ordaining of a solemn fast, accompanied by prayers and sermons, after which one, in the name of all the rest, propounds the covenant: and fifthly, a joint taking of the covenant. The *consequents* of it are, first, the right hand of fellowship, which is given them by the neighbour Churches: secondly, an exhortation to those who join in covenant to stand fast in the Lord: and thirdly, a prayer to God for pardon of their sins, and acceptance of the people. The *final cause* of their Church they profess to be, first, to God's glory: secondly, the salvation of the Church, and of each individual member: and thirdly, the internal and external acts of mutual communion in faith and charity. The *matter* of their Church they hold to be such persons as can give some particular evidence of saving grace, and of their election, and such as enter into Church-covenant together. They will not admit to the Lord's table the members of

other Churches, whether Independents or not; nor will they baptize their children, on a recommendation from other Churches. The *integrant parts* of this Church are the flock, or people, and the rulers, consisting of Preachers, Teachers, Ruling Elders and Deacons. The *form* of their Church seems to consist in their Church-covenant. The *accidents* of it are, first, the number, which cannot be less than seven persons, or more than can conveniently meet in one place, for the administration of the holy ordinances of God: secondly, their doctrine, which may be ARMINIAN, as was the case with the Rev. John Goodwin: thirdly, THE ENTIRE ABSENCE OF ANY COMMON CONFESSION OF FAITH, or platform of discipline in their Churches: fourthly, the power to teach, which is granted not only to Preachers, but to Ruling Elders, and some of the people: and fifthly, the power of the keys, which is put into the hands of the people, who have power to create their own Ministers, to examine their doctrine and sufficiency, and afterwards to admit them to the ministerial charge. They hold *the object of excommunication* only to be *errors of the mind* against the common, and uncontroverted principles of Christianity; and *errors of the will*, against its common, and universal practice: and both these kinds of error must be entertained against the known light of the parties, before sentence of excommunication can be pronounced. Lastly, they believe that THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE HAS NO RIGHT TO PUNISH MEN FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

Some of those Congregationalists who had left England, and formed societies, on their own prin-

ciples, in Holland, returned about the commencement of the Civil War; and five of them happened to be chosen members of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. They were Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Sidrach Simpson, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs and William Bridge;* and as the rest of the Assembly, with two exceptions, was composed entirely of Presbyterians and Episcopalians, these seven were distinguished by the name of "the Dissenting Brethren." The two exceptions referred to were William Greenhill and William Carter, who made up the number to seven. To these seven, who belonged to the Assembly from the first, was afterwards added John Dury, who was appointed to fill up a vacancy.† In 1643, when the Assembly had sat about six months, the seven Dissenting Brethren, in conjunction with thirteen other Ministers belonging to the moderate Presbyterian party, and Dr. William Twisse, the Prolocutor of the Assembly, circulated the pamphlet above alluded to, and entitled "Certain Considerations, &c.," the object of which was to dissuade both Ministers and people throughout the kingdom from forming themselves into Church societies, till they should see what turn matters would take in the Assembly. The five, who had

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. III. p. 144.

† The Grand Debate concerning Presbitery and Independency by the Assembly of Divines convened at Westminster by Authority of Parliament, containing, First, the Assemblies Propositions, (with the Proof of them from Scripture,) concerning the Presbiteriall Government: Secondly, the Dissenting Brethrens Reasons against the said Propositions: Thirdly, the Answer of the Assemblies to those Reasons of Dissent: examined and perused by Jer. Whitaker—Tho. Goodwin: by Order of Parliament. A.D. 1652, pp. 40. 85. 132. 192. *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. III. pp. 276. 304.

been living as exiles in Holland, also put forth, during the same year, "An Apologetical Narration submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament," and signed by themselves alone,* in which they professed their agreement on doctrinal matters with the Articles of the Church of England, and other Reformed Churches; explained the principles, on which they and their friends wished to form themselves into separate religious societies; and entreated, that, out of regard to their past exile, and present sufferings, they might be allowed to continue in their native country, with the enjoyment of the ordinances of Christ, and an indulgence in some minor differences, as long as they continued peaceable subjects.† The public position occupied by them at this particular juncture, gave them a degree of influence among the members of the Independent body, which they would probably not otherwise have acquired; and though there were Arminian, and even Antitrinitarian societies among the Congregational Churches, which had grown up in England during their absence, this "Apologetical Narration" was, for obvious reasons, regarded as a kind of manifesto, and served afterwards as a rallying point to the Calvinistic Independents, who ultimately absorbed all the other Congregationalist Churches into their own body. In the year 1658, they drew up a Confession of Faith, usually known by the name of "the Savoy Confession," which agrees, in all its main doctrinal points, with "the Westminster Confession." A most extraordinary unanimity is said

* Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 504.

† *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. III. pp. 141—144.

to have pervaded the body who composed this Confession; but "some," says Neal, "imputed their unanimity to the authority and influence of Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, and the rest of the elder divines over the younger."* By such means as these, the progress of inquiry was checked among the Independents: and their Churches, instead of becoming, as once appeared probable, centres of union for the advocates of religious freedom, were converted into so many close corporations, whose principal bond of union seemed to be, the suppression of every effort to transgress the limits, marked out by the Dissenting Brethren of the Westminster Assembly,—to wit, the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England.

It must nevertheless be admitted, that the Independents, orthodox as well as heterodox, in the great struggle, which took place during the sitting of the Long Parliament, acted upon more enlarged views of the nature and extent of religious liberty, than any other body of Christians throughout the kingdom. While Edwards, in his "Gangræna," was railing against "Toleration" with all the fury of a maniac,† and the Presbyterians generally were petitioning for the suppression of all separate Churches, "the very nursery," as they were styled, "of damnable heretics,"‡ the Independents were straining every nerve to secure a general toleration, which should include, not only themselves and the Baptists, but all who agreed in "the Fundamentals of Chris-

* Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 189.

† Pt. i. Letters, &c. p. 42. Pt. ii. pp. 57, 58. 85.

‡ Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. III. pp. 326—328. 364.

tianity.”* It is true, as Neal says, “when they came to enumerate Fundamentals they were sadly intangled,”† as who is not? But there were persons of the Independent persuasion, in those times, who pleaded, with an earnestness and a zeal which cannot be too highly commended, in behalf of an unrestricted toleration. Such a man was John Goodwin, who introduced the English translation of Acontius’s “Stratagems of Satan” to the notice of the reader, with the fearless avowal of the following noble sentiments. “In vain do they blow a trumpet to prepare the Magistrate to battle against Errors and Heresies, whilst they leave the judgments and consciences of men armed with confidence of truth in them. If men would call more for light, and less for fire from heaven, their warfare against such enemies would be much sooner accomplished. For he that denied the one, hath promised the other. (Prov. 2. 3, 4, 5. Jam. 1. 5.) And amongst all weapons, there is none like unto light to fight against darkness. But whilst men arm themselves against Satan, with the material sword, they do but insure his victory and triumph.”

But the Presbyterian party was too strong, both in Parliament and in the Assembly, for the other Sects, into which the nation was at this time divided; and till the establishment of the Commonwealth, when the Independents greatly increased their influence, Presbyterian counsels prevailed. By two Ordinances, dated Oct. 9th, and Nov. 16th, 1646, respectively, Episcopacy was abolished, and the re-

* Gangræna, Pt. i. p. 12. Pt. ii. pp. 62. 64.

† Vol. III. pp. 311, 312.

venues arising from the different sees were alienated, for the purpose of paying the public debts.* Provinces were substituted for Dioceses. Every parish had a Congregational, or Parochial Presbytery, for the management of parish affairs. The Parochial Presbyteries were directed to form themselves into Classes; the Classes to choose representatives to the Provincial, and the Provincial to the National Assembly. This plan was carried out in London and Lancashire, but in no other part of England.† The Presbyterian Ministers, however, had their voluntary associations for Church affairs in most counties, though without any authoritative jurisdiction.‡

In addition to the Provincial Assembly, the London clergy held weekly meetings at Sion College, to consult about Church affairs; and at one of these meetings "they agreed," says Neal,§ "*since they could do nothing more*, to bear their public testimony against the errors of the times; and accordingly they published a treatise, entitled, 'A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant; as also, against the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, and the Toleration of them; to which is added, A Catalogue of the said Errors, &c.' dated from Sion College, Dec. 14, 1647, and subscribed by Fifty-eight of the most eminent Pastors in London, of whom Seventeen were of the Assembly of Divines."

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. III. pp. 361, 362.

† Pp. 331—335. 495. *Mon. Repos.* Vol. XXI. pp. 475—478.

‡ *Neal's Hist.* Vol. III. p. 335.

§ Vol. III. p. 388.

In their first Article, "touching matters of doctrine, they declare their assent to the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith, and heartily desire it may receive the sanction of authority, as the joint Confession of Faith of the three Kingdoms, in pursuance of the Covenant." As regards Errors and Heresies, they declare their detestation and abhorrence of the following among others. "That there is not a Trinity of persons in the Godhead; that the Son is not co-equal with the Father; and that the Holy Ghost is only a ministering spirit: that God has not elected some to salvation from eternity, and rejected and reprobated others; and that no man shall perish in hell for Adam's sin: that Christ died for the sins of all mankind; that the benefits of his death were intended for all; and that natural men may do such things as whereunto God has, by way of promise, annexed grace and acceptation: that man hath a free will and power of himself to repent, to believe, to obey the Gospel, and do everything that God requires to salvation." The last error, against which they bear their testimony, and in condemning which they *unanimously* concur, is called "*the error of Toleration*, patronizing and promoting all other errors, heresies and blasphemies whatsoever, under the grossly abused notion of *liberty of conscience*."*

The views of the Parliament respecting "the error of Toleration" were nearly akin to those of the Presbyterian Divines of London. On the 27th of May, 1646, an order was made by the House of Commons, to revive a Committee, which had for-

* *Neuf's Hist.* Vol. III. pp. 388—390.

merly sat, for the purpose of examining into the mode, in which heresies were divulged and maintained;* and on the 27th of February, 1647, after the sermons at the monthly fast, the House met, and ordered a general fast-day throughout the kingdom, to beseech God, that he would root out heresy and blasphemy.†

It was about this time, that JOHN BIDDLE,‡ who has been styled “the father of English Unitarianism,” began to attract public attention, by his writings on the subject of the Trinity. THOMAS LUSHINGTON was also instrumental in making more generally known the principles of scriptural interpretation adopted by the continental Unitarians.§ Indeed, the press teemed with works, the object of which was to undermine the popular belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. The Rev. Francis Cheynell, in the Dedication to a treatise published A.D. 1650,|| says, “since the beginning of the year 1645, there have been many blasphemous books to the great dishonour of the ever-blessed Trinity printed in England.” Of some of these there are probably no copies now in existence; and of not a few the very titles are unknown. Others are still occasionally to be met with in booksellers’ catalogues, and the libraries of collectors. But we often learn more of writings of this class, through the medium of the answers which they called forth, than from the works themselves; and if it were not for such

* *Whitelocke’s Mem.* p. 212.

† P. 240.

‡ *Vide Art.* 285.

§ *Vide Art.* 284.

|| *The Divine Trinunity.*

authors as Thomas Edwards and Francis Cheynell, who give such alarming pictures of the spread of Unitarianism in their day, we might almost be tempted to doubt, whether it had any existence, except in the minds of a few isolated individuals.

Ephraim Pagitt published a work on the prevailing heresies of the age, entitled, "Heresiography, or a Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries sprang up in these latter Times." The 4th edition was published A.D. 1647, in 4to.; and it is from this that the following particulars are taken. In the Epistle Dedicatory "To the Right Hon. Thomas Atkin, Lord Mayor of the City of London," the author says, "we have also Socinians, who teach that Christ dyed not to satisfie for our sins: and also his incarnation to be repugnant to reason, and not to be sufficiently prov'd by Scripture, with many other abominable errors. . . . We have Arrians, who deny the Deity of Christ."

The following is his account of the Socinians. "In treating of these Sectaries I will propose: 1. Their Originall. 2. Some of their chiefe Errours, with the refutation of them. . . . 1. Socinisme, or Socinianisme hath its name from Lælius Socinus, and his Nephew Faustus Socinus, both Italians of Siena in the State of Florence. . . . 2. Lælius Socinus in the time of Mr. Calvin, broached his opinions by private Letters, written to Calvin: Gaustus his Son, by publicke writings, and by books followed the steps of his father in corrupting and traducing the sincere orthodox faith." *Gaustus* is no doubt a misprint for *Faustus*; but it is remarkable, that the Heresiographer should have been so little stu-

dious of accuracy, as first to call him the "Nephew," (which he was,) and afterwards the "Son," (which he was not,) of Lælius. "3. For," proceeds our author, "Socinianisme is a compound of many pernicious and antiquated heresies, in which are revived the errors especially of these five Sects, viz. Ebionites, Arrians, Photinians, Servetians, Antitrinitarians, with which are joyned the Samosatians and Sabellians, of whom also they participate. Their erroneous and dangerous opinions may be read especially in the works of Socinus, Ostorodius, Catechesis Racoviensis, Volkellius, and others."*

Of the "Antitrinitarians, or new Arrians," the same writer gives the subjoined account. After telling his reader, that they are "called *Arrians* of the old Heretick *Arrius*, who was a Deacon of the Church of Alexandria," he adds, "'The Antitrinitarians have renewed Arrius his old heresie, and they are called Antitrinitarians because they blaspheme and violate the Holy Trinity. These Antitrinitarians sprung up in Polonia and neighbouring Countreys in the year of our Lord, 1593. Against this Sect Doctor Pelargus Wigandus, and others have written learned Treatises. The horrible blasphemies, and devillish opinions of these Hereticks I am loath to name, but that my desire is that Christians should take notice of them to beware of them. 1. They deny the Trinity of Persons. 2. They deny the Son of God. 3. The eternall generation of the Son to be against reason, against truth. 4. Christ not to be called God in respect of his Essence, but by reason of his dominion. 5. The

* Pp. 129, 130.

Holy Ghost not to be God. From these false doctrines and heresies good Lord deliver us. . . . These hereticks have beene heretofore burnt among us, as Anno 1611, March 18, Bartholomew Legate, an obstinat Arrian, was burnt in Smithfield; he refused all favour, contemned Ecclesiasticall government. And in the month of April following, one Edward Wightman was burnt at Lichfield for the same Heresie. Queene Elizabeth of blessed memory, hearing of them, said, she was very sorrowfull to heare that shee had such Monsters in her Kingdome; and truly, it grieveth me very much to relate their blasphemous and divellish opinions.”*

The above descriptions, though erroneous in many particulars, serve to shew the pious horror, with which the writer contemplated the “audacious boldnesse” of the Socinians, and Antitrinitarians, or New Arians, who, in those days, disturbed the peace of the Church with what he is pleased to call their “abominable errors” and “horrible blasphemies.”

On the 1st of April, 1647, John Biddle addressed a letter to Sir Henry Vane, requesting him either to procure his liberation from prison, where he had been confined for the space of sixteen months, or to bring his case before the House of Commons; and Sir Henry shewed himself his friend. But the only result of his interference was, that Biddle was committed to the custody of an officer of the House of Commons, and continued under restraint for the next five years. His case was referred to the Assembly of Divines, then sitting at Westminster, and he delivered in to them in writing his “Twelve

* Pp. 131, 132.

Arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit," which were printed in the course of the same year, and burnt by the common hangman on the eighth of September.

About the beginning of March 1647, an English translation of the first four books of Acontius's "*Satanæ Stratagemata*" was published in London. It was dedicated to the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons of England in the High Court of Parliament assembled; to His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, Captain General, and the Right Honorable Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant General of all the Forces in England; and to the Right Honorable John Warner, Lord Mayor of the City of London; and was recommended to the Parliament, Army and City, as a book fit to direct them how to distinguish truth from error, in those difficult and trying times. The translator's name was purposely concealed: but the book had no sooner made its appearance, than the Rev. Francis Cheynell brought the matter before the Assembly of Divines. The Assembly appointed a Committee to examine its contents, and report concerning it with all convenient speed. One of the first discoveries which the Committee made, was, that a member of their own Assembly, "the learned and judicious Mr. Dury," had recommended the book in a letter addressed to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, and prefixed to the translation. A request was accordingly made, that Mr. Dury's name might be placed upon the Committee; and although he had gone out of his way to thank the translator, through Mr. Hartlib, for having done so great a service as to render "this excellent piece of Learning" into

English, and had expressed his conviction, that it would be satisfactory "to such as are free from hardness of heart in the ways of factiousness, and not blinded with carnal ends in the prosecution of religious controversies," he had no sooner entered the Committee-room, than he declared his willingness to make a public retraction of what he had written, "because," as we are told, "he clearly saw that they had practised upon his passionate love of peace, to the great prejudice of truth, and that he was merely drawn in to promote a Syncretism beyond the orthodox lines of communication."* The Committee deputed Mr. Cheynell to draw up the report, of which he himself gives the following copy.

"The Report made to the Reverend Assembly, March 8, 1644, by Mr. Cheynell.

"We humbly conceive, That Acontius his enumeration of points necessary to be known and believed for the attainment of salvation is very defective.

"1. Because in the Creed which Acontius framed there is no mention made either of the Godhead of Jesus Christ, or of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. And

"2. Although Acontius doth acknowledge Christ to be truly the Son of God, yet he doth not in his Creed declare him to be the *natural* Son of God.

"That these points are necessary to be known and believed for the attainment of salvation, is in our judgement clearly expressed in the Holy Scriptures, 1 Joh. 5. 7, 20. compared with Joh. 17. 3.

* *Cheynell's Divine Trinunity*, pp. 453—456.

“We do therefore conceive, that Acontius was justly condemned, because he maintains that the points of doctrine which he mentions, are *the only points* which are necessary to be known and believed, and did not hold forth or mention the points aforesaid as necessary to salvation.

“And we esteem him to be the more worthy of censure, because he lived in an age when the Photinian Heresie was revived, and yet spared the Photinians, though he condemned the Sabellians.

“Finally, Acontius doth cautelously decline the orthodox expressions of the ancient Church, in the foure first generall Synods; and doth deliver his Creed in such general expressions, that as we conceive the Socinians may subscribe it, and yet retain the worst of their blasphemous errors.

“The premises being humbly presented, we leave it to the judgement of this Reverend Assembly,

“Whether Acontius his ‘Stratagems’ was a book fit to be translated into English, and recommended to the Parliament, Army, and City to direct them how to distinguish truth from error in this juncture of time?”

Cheynell informs us, that he enlarged “somewhat affectionately” upon these few heads of the Report; on which he was unanimously requested by the Assembly, through its Prolocutor, to lay his views upon the subject before the public, as soon as the visitation at Oxford was brought to a close.* The object of this visitation was to bring about a reform in the University of Oxford. It was appointed by

* Pp. 452—457.

the Parliament in 1647, and Mr. Cheynell was nominated one of the visitors. The University men proved refractory, and treated the visitors, and the new Chancellor, (the Earl of Pembroke,) with rudeness.* On this occasion John Webberley suffered much for his loyalty, first by imprisonment, and afterwards by expulsion. He had before translated into English several Socinian books, some of which he had published anonymously; and others, which were still lying by him, were now seized, and taken out of his study by command of the Parliamentary Visitors.†

With such evidences of the existence of Socinianism, in the heart of an orthodox University, like that of Oxford, we may imagine what kind of report would be sent in to Parliament by such men as Francis Cheynell; and it can scarcely excite surprise, that instant measures should be taken for the suppression of this growing heresy. It was on Monday, April 17th, 1648, that Webberley was committed to prison; and on the 1st of May, just a fortnight from that time, the Presbyterian party finding that they had a majority in the House of Commons, it was voted, that all Ordinances concerning Church Government, which had been referred to Committees, should now be brought in, and debated; and that the Ordinance against Blasphemy and Heresy should be determined.‡ This “Draconick Ordinance,”§ as it has been justly styled, passed both Houses, but not without much opposi-

* *Neal's Hist.* Vol. III. p. 452.

† *Wood's Fasti*, Vol. I. p. 284.

‡ *Neal's Hist.* Vol. III. p. 497.

§ APPENDIX, No. xvii.

tion.* It enacted, that all such persons as willingly, by preaching, teaching, printing or writing, maintain and publish, that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, or the Holy Ghost is not God, or that they three are not one eternal God; or that in like manner maintain and publish, that Christ is not God equal with the Father; shall be adjudged guilty of Felony: and in case the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of Felony, without benefit of Clergy.

It may seem surprising, that a body of men, who could pass such a law as this, should allow it to slumber, when their favourite doctrines were so fearlessly assailed by Biddle and others, and their penal enactments produced so little effect upon those, against whom they were more especially levelled. But the truth is, dissensions broke out among the Members of the House of Commons, which rendered this Ordinance a mere dead letter; and the army contained many, not only privates, but non-commissioned and superior officers, who had incurred the penalties denounced in it, and therefore threw the weight of their influence into the liberal side of the scale. To this alone it was owing, that John Biddle did not fall a sacrifice to his temerity; and add one more to the number of martyrs, who had already forfeited their lives in defence of what they believed to be the truth of God.

* *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 302.

After the execution of Charles I., the sovereign power was lodged in the hands of the Independents, whom the other classes of sectaries combined in supporting, because they found in that party a greater disposition to tolerate their respective peculiarities of doctrine and discipline, than in the Presbyterians.*

Judge Bradshaw, who had presided at the King's trial, and who was known to be no friend to Mr. Biddle, ordered him to be recalled, and placed under stricter confinement than ever. But Biddle was not wholly friendless. There was one member of the House of Commons, who not only sympathised with him in his sufferings, but adopted, and openly advocated his religious sentiments. This was JOHN FRY, a Dorsetshire gentleman, of more than ordinary talents, but a violent political partizan, whose zeal greatly outran his discretion, and who was deprived of his seat for publishing two pamphlets, in which he openly advocated the religious opinions of Biddle.† Frequent allusions are made to him by Francis Cheynell, in his "Divine Trinunity," the composition of which that prolific writer undertook, in consequence of his appointment to the office of Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity; and the full title of which is as follows. "The Divine Trinunity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: or, The blessed Doctrine of the three Coessentiall Subsistents in the eternall Godhead without any Confusion or Division of the distinct Subsistences, or Multiplication of the

* *Rapin's History of England*, Vol. II. p. 573.

† *Vide Art.* 286.

most single and entire Godhead, acknowledged, beleaved, adored by Christians, in Opposition to Pagans, Jewes, Mahumetans, blasphemous and Anti-christian Hereticks, *who say they are Christians, but are not*: declared and published for the Edification and Satisfaction of all such as worship the only true God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, all three as one and the selfsame God blessed for ever. By Francis Cheynell. London, 1650." 8vo.

Among others, named Socinians by contemporaneous writers, was JOHN KNOWLES,* who answered a paper on the Godhead of Christ by the Rev. Samuel Eaton, first of Dukinfield, and afterwards of Stockport, in Cheshire. Mr. Eaton defended himself in a work, entitled, "The Mystery of God Incarnate," London, 1650; and published, in the year following, a "Vindication, or further Confirmation of some other Scriptures produced to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ, distorted and miserably wrested and abused by Mr. John Knowles."†

The sect of Quakers, or Friends, took its rise about this time. Much has been said respecting the doctrines held by the founders of this religious body. It has been contended on the one hand, and denied on the other, that they disbelieved the doctrine of the Trinity. On this subject more will be said, when we come to speak of William Penn. In the mean time, it may suffice to quote what Neal says upon the subject, in his "History of the Puritans."‡ "The doctrines they delivered," observes

* Vide *Art.* 287.

† *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 342.

‡ Vol. IV. Chap. i. p. 36.

this writer, "were as various and uncertain as the principle from which they acted. They denied the Holy Scriptures to be the only rule of their faith, calling it a dead letter, and maintaining that every man had a light within himself, which was a sufficient rule. *They denied the received doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation.* They disowned the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; nay, some of them proceeded so far, as to deny a Christ without them; or at least, to place more of their dependence upon a Christ within."

On the 10th of February, 1652, an Act of Oblivion was passed, and some provisos, proposed to be added to it, were debated.* The subject was resumed on the 17th of the same month; and many of these provisos were agreed to.† It has been called "A General Act of Oblivion;"‡ and probably secured all, who were not regarded as state criminals.§ Mr. Biddle certainly experienced the benefit of this Act; for he, among others, was liberated by it from his long confinement.

In this year, the Racovian Catechism, in the original Latin, began to be publicly sold in London. Appended to it was the Life of Faustus Socinus by Przypcovius, with a catalogue of the works of that eminent reformer. The whole was comprised in a small volume, and bore the imprint of *Racovia*, but had issued in reality from a London press in 1651. A work of this kind, though written in a dead language, was not likely to pass without observation.

* *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 514.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 302.

§ *Mon. Repos.* Vol. XIII. 1818, p. 413.

We find, accordingly, that it attracted the notice of Parliament, and the subject was referred to a Committee. Mr. Millington reported from this Committee; and several portions of the book having been read, the House passed the following resolutions.

“Resolved upon the question by the Parliament, That the book, Entituled ‘Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in Regno Poloniæ, &c.’ commonly called The Racovian Catechism, doth contain matters that are blasphemous, erroneous and scandalous.

“Resolved upon the question by the Parliament, That all the printed copies of the book Entituled ‘Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in Regno Poloniæ, &c.’ commonly called The Racovian Catechism, be burnt.

“Resolved upon the question by the Parliament, That the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex be authorized and required to seize all the printed copies of the book Entituled ‘Catechesis Ecclesiarum quæ in Regno Poloniæ, &c.’ commonly called The Racovian Catechism, wheresoever they shall be found, and cause the same to be burnt at the Old Exchange, London, and in the New Palace, at Westminster, on Tuesday and Thursday next.

“Friday, the Second of April, 1652,

“Resolved by the Parliament, That these Votes be forthwith printed and published.

“HEN. SCOBELL, Cleric. Parliamenti.”*

* Votes of Parliament touching the Book commonly called The Racovian Catechism. London, Printed by William Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1652. *Whitelocke's Memor.* p. 521, April 6, 1652.

In the same year an English translation of this Catechism was printed at Amsterdam. Some have supposed that John Biddle was the translator; but this is doubtful. There is an equal chance of its having been William Hamilton, or John Webberley.* Be this as it may, however, the introduction of this Catechism into England appears greatly to have disturbed the composure of the Oxford Divines, at whose request Dr. John Owen published, in 8vo., 1653, his "*Diatriba de Justitiâ Divinâ, seu Justitiæ Vindicatricis Vindicie;*" in which he attacked the authors of the Catechism, and undertook to refute the arguments of Crellius and Socinus. He dedicated this Diatribe to Cromwell, with whom he was a great favourite; and who had recently conferred upon him the office of Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.† But in spite of the precautions taken by the orthodox to prevent the spread of Unitarian writings, and to guard the minds of the public against the poison which they were supposed to contain, the press groaned under them; and the year 1653 was remarkable for the number of English translations from the works of the Polish Socinians, to which it gave birth. Of these, two at least proceeded from the pen of John Biddle, and bear his initials, J. B.‡ The rest are without any translator's name, or any mark, by which they can be distinguished as his, or those of any other person in particular; but they are usually attributed to him, and are claimed as his by Dr. Toulmin, in "A Review of the Life,

* Vide *Art.* 285.

† *Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, Vol. I. p. 267.

‡ Vide *Art.* 285.

Character and Writings of the Rev. John Biddle, M.A. London, 1791.*

Near the close of the year 1653, Cromwell was made Protector; and his first act in that capacity was, to cause an instrument to be prepared, consisting of forty-two articles, and entitled, "The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland." This was read in the presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London; after which, the Protector took an oath, to observe it to the utmost of his power.† The articles relating to religion were the following.

"XXXV. That the Christian religion, contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the publick profession of these nations; and that as soon as may be, a provision, less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, for instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of error, heresie, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine: And that, until such provision be made, the present maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.

"XXXVI. That to the publick profession held forth, none shall be compelled by penalties or otherwise, but that endeavours be used to win them by

* Sect. xi.

† *Neal's Hist.* Vol. IV. pp. 72—75. *Rapin's Hist. of England*, Vol. II. p. 591.

sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation.

“XXXVII. That such as profess faith in God by Christ (though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of the faith, and exercise of their religion; so as they abuse not this liberty, to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the publick peace on their parts: Provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness.

“XXXVIII. That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and clauses in any Law, Statute and Ordinance to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.”*

By a just and fair construction, these articles would have protected Unitarians, as well as others, in the exercise of their religion; and probably they were so intended. Had the framers of this scheme of government sought for terms, by which to describe the Unitarian faith and worship, they could not have done it more concisely, or more accurately, than by those which they have employed, in the thirty-seventh article. It was observed, indeed, in the debates, which arose in Parliament upon the “Instrument of Government,” that all were to be protected in the exercise of their religion, who agreed in *Fundamentals*; and a vote was passed accordingly, declaring, that all should be tolerated,

* *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 557.

or indulged, who professed the *Fundamentals* of Christianity. But as the House was at a loss to define, what classes of Christian believers its own vote included, and whom it shut out, a Committee was appointed to determine this question, by the aid of certain Divines.* The Committee being in number about fourteen, each nominated one Divine. Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, named Archbishop Usher; but he declined acting, and Mr. Baxter was appointed in his stead. "Whereupon," says Mr. Baxter, "I was sent for up to London: But before I came, the rest had begun their work, and drawn up some few of the Propositions, which they called *Fundamentals*: The men that I found there were, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Reyner, Dr. Cheynell, Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydrach Simpson, Mr. Vines, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Jacomb. I knew how ticklish a business the enumeration of *Fundamentals* was, and of what very ill consequence it would be if it were ill done; and how unsatisfactory that question [*What are your Fundamentals?*] is usually answered by the Papists. My own judgment was this, that we must distinguish between the *sense* (or *matter*) and the *words*; and that it's only the *sense* that is primarily and properly our *Fundamentals*: and the *words* no further than as they are needful to express that *sense* to others, or represent it to our own conception: that the word [*Fundamentals*] being metaphorical and ambiguous, the word [*Essentials*] is much fitter. * * * I suppose that no particular words in

* *Neal's Hist.* Vol. IV. p. 97.

the world are *Essentials* of our religion. * * * Also I suppose that no particular *Formula* of Words in any or all languages is essential to our religion. * * * Therefore I would have had all the brethren to have offered the Parliament the *Creed*, *Lord's Prayer* and *Decalogue* alone as our *Essentials* or *Fundamentals*; which at least *contain all* that is necessary to salvation, and hath been by all the ancient Churches taken for the sum of their religion. And whereas they still said, [*A Socinian or a Papist will subscribe all this,*] I answered them, So much the better, and so much the fitter it is to be the matter of our concord."*

Mr. Baxter's advice was rejected; and, after much wrangling, a series of articles was prepared, and presented to the Committee. They were drawn up by Dr. Owen, assisted by Dr. Goodwin, and Messrs. Nye and Simpson, all zealous and orthodox Independents; and were delivered in to the Committee, with the following title prefixed. "The Principles of Faith presented by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydrach Simpson, and other Ministers, to the Committee of Parliament for Religion, by Way of Explanation to the Proposals for propagating the Gospel." The fourth article asserted, "that God is one in three persons or subsistences;" and the sixth and seventh, "that Jesus Christ is the True God," and "also True Man."†

* Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: or, *Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative* of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times. London, 1696, Fol. Lib. i. Part ii. pp. 197, 198. See also a curious memorandum of Mr. Baxter's on this subject in the *Monthly Repository* for 1825, Vol. XX. pp. 287—289, from the Baxter MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library.

† *Neal's Hist.* Vol. IV. pp. 98—100.

But the Parliament being dissolved soon after, this list of Fundamentals was never brought into the House, and nothing more was heard of it.*

Mr. Baxter, in his *Life*, mentions a curious proposal for uniting all Christians into one body, which was made to him, during his stay in London on this occasion, by Dr. Nicholas Gibbon. "While I lodged at the Lord Broghill's," says he, "a certain person was importunate to speak with me, Dr. Nic. Gibbon; who shutting the doors on us that there might be no witnesses, drew forth a scheme of theology, and told me how long a journey he had once taken towards me, and engaged me to hear him patiently open to me his scheme, which he said was the very thing that I had been long groping after; and contained the only terms and method to resolve all doubts, and unite all Christians throughout the world: And there was none of them printed but what he kept himself, and he communicated them only to such as were prepared, which he thought I was, because I was, 1. Searching, 2. Impartial, and 3. A lover of method. I thankd him and heard him above an hour in silence, and after two or three days talk with him, I found all his frame (the contrivance of a very strong headpiece) was secretly and cunningly fitted to usher in a Socinian Popery, or a mixture of Popery and half Socinianism. Bishop Usher had before occasionally spoken of him in my hearing as a Socinian, which caused me to hear him with suspicion, but I heard none suspect him of Popery, though I found that it was that

* Reliq. Baxt. p. 205.

which was the end of his design. This jugler hath this twenty years and more gone up and down thus secretly, and also thrust himself into places of public debate: (as when the bishops and divines disputed before the King at the Isle of Wight, &c.) And when we were lately offering our proposals for concord to the King, he thrust in among us; till I was fain plainly to detect him before some of the Lords, which enraged him, and he denied the words which in secret he had spoken to me. And many men of learning and parts are perverted by him.”* This singular compound of Socinianism and Popery was a native of Poole, in Dorsetshire. He studied at Oxford, where he took his Doctor's degree in 1639. At that time he was Rector of Seven-Oaks, in Kent. On the breaking out of the Rebellion, he espoused the royal cause; and after the Restoration he became Rector of Corfe Castle, in his native county. The great object of his life was to heal the religious dissensions, which existed among his countrymen; but it must be admitted, that the methods, by which he proposed to effect this object, were neither of a very practical, nor a very intelligible nature. The following are the titles of some of his works. “The Reconciler, earnestly endeavouring to unite in sincere Affection the Presbyters and their Dissenting Brethren of all sorts. London, 1646.” 4to. “A Paper delivered to the Commissioners of Parliament (as they called themselves) at the personal Treaty with his Majesty King Charles I. in the Isle of Wight, An. 1648.” This was

* Reliq. Baxt. Lib. i. Part ii. § 60, pp. 205, 206.

printed, but without date, on a single folio sheet. "Theology real and truly scientific; in Overture for the Conciliation of all Christians, the Theist, Atheist, and all Mankind into the Unity of the Spirit, and the Bond of Peace, &c." This was printed in two folio sheets, about the year 1663.* At his interviews with Charles the First in the Isle of Wight, the King was much pleased with his answers to the questions which were proposed to him, and thought well of him ever afterwards.† Baxter's account of him, though in the main true, is evidently a little coloured. He represents him as thrusting himself in, when the Bishops and Divines disputed before the King in the Isle of Wight; but Wood says, that the King sent for him on that occasion.

The year 1654, which was the first of Cromwell's Protectorate, was one of comparative exemption from persecution to Biddle, and his followers. Cromwell would have had all men enjoy their religious opinions without molestation. He professed himself unable to understand, what the Magistrate had to do in matters of religion; and thought that he could not interfere, without being ensnared in the guilt of persecution.‡ But the zealots, both in and out of Parliament, could not enter into these enlarged and liberal views; and such men as Biddle were still harassed, from time to time, by those who arrogated to themselves the title of orthodox. The Parliament assembled on the 3rd of September. On the 6th of

* *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 1128.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Reliq. Baxt. Lib. i. Pt. ii. p. 193.*

November a Committee of ten was appointed, to confer with the Protector, for the purpose of defining what was meant by the words "liberty of conscience."* What passed at this conference may be inferred from the course, which matters afterwards took in the House. On the 8th of December there was a long debate upon the subject; and on the 11th of the same month, it was resolved, that to Bills touching liberty of conscience the Protector should have a negative, but not to Bills for suppressing heresies; and that damnable heresies should be enumerated in the Bill then under consideration.† It is difficult to conceive, on what grounds the Protector's veto should be permitted on Bills touching liberty of conscience, and refused on Bills for suppressing heresies. The distinction was a purely arbitrary one, and could have originated only in a fear, that Cromwell's liberality might lead him to stifle in their birth certain favourite schemes of the more rigid Calvinistic members, for the suppression of freedom of inquiry. In any case, the resolutions afford decisive evidence of the spirit, in which the majority of the House were disposed to treat the question of heresy, and of their determination to legislate on that one subject at least in the true spirit of orthodox intolerance.

In the mean time, however, Mr. Biddle was summoned to appear at the bar of the House, and interrogated respecting the "Twofold Catechism." The matter was then referred to the Committee; and, on the strength of the report delivered in by

* *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 590.

† P. 591.

that Committee, it was voted, on the 12th of December, "That the whole drift and scope of the said 'Twofold Catechism' is, to teach and hold forth many blasphemous and heretical opinions, and doth therein cast a reproach upon all the Catechisms now extant." This judgment of the author, as to existing Catechisms, was certainly anything but complimentary to the labours of the Assembly of Divines, who, not many years before, had been at the pains of getting up a Twofold Catechism of their own, on approved orthodox principles, which was to supersede all other attempts of the kind, and to serve as a guide to the faithful through all future time. We cannot wonder, therefore, that a further vote was passed, by these pious legislators, to the following effect. "That all the printed books, entitled, 'The Twofold Catechism,' be burnt by the hand of the common hangman; that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex be authorized and required to see the same done accordingly in the New Palace-Yard, at Westminster, and at the Old Exchange; and that the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Stationers, in London, be required immediately to make search for all the printed books, as aforesaid, and seize all the said books, and deliver them to the Sheriffs."* The next day, December 13th, (not the 3rd, as it is printed by mistake in the "Short Account of the Life of John Biddle, M.A." prefixed to the 4to. Edition of his Tracts,) he was again brought to the bar of the House; and on the preceding Resolutions being read to him, he avowed

* Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. pp. 302, 303. *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 591.

himself the author of the two Catechisms, and was committed a close prisoner to the Gate-house. Here he was refused the use of pen, ink and paper; and the gaoler received strict orders not to admit any one to see him.* The day following, all the copies of his book, which could be found, were burnt. But, as usually happens in such cases, some escaped the fate to which Parliament had consigned them; and many persons were now more eager than ever to obtain possession of a work, which had excited so great a sensation in the public mind. The matter, therefore, was again agitated on the 16th of January, 1655; and the Committee were instructed to bring in a Bill, for the purpose of punishing Mr. Biddle.† But Cromwell put a stop to these insane proceedings, by a premature dissolution of the Parliament, on the 22nd of the same month; and in the Speech which he delivered on that occasion, he addressed the members in the following caustic terms. "Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences? Had not they laboured but lately under the weight of persecutions, and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops, to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also, had not

* Short Account, &c. p. 7.

† Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 303.

too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands."*

After the dissolution of the Parliament, Biddle still remained in prison; and the government was at a loss to know how to dispose of him, though urged by the Presbyterian Ministers to inflict upon him the punishment of death. On the 10th of February, he, and his printer and publisher, having previously petitioned the Upper Bench, that they might be set at liberty, were discharged from prison, on giving the required security for their appearance in that Court, on the first day of the next term. On the 2nd of May, accordingly, they surrendered to take their trial, but were put off again till the following term, which commenced on the 28th of the same month; and then, after several objections and delays, the charge against them was abandoned.†

Soon after his liberation, Biddle engaged in a dispute, respecting the deity of Christ, with the Rev. John Griffin, a Baptist Minister, who preached in the Stone Chapel of St. Paul's; but his adversary being baffled, the dispute was put off to another day. In the mean time, Griffin and his party, not thinking themselves a match for him in argument, accused him of fresh blasphemies, and procured an order for his apprehension. According to the "Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs,"‡ this took

* *Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 596. *The Lord Protector's Speech to the Parliament, in the Painted Chamber, at their Dissolution, upon Monday, Jan. 22, 1654.* London, 1731, p. 12.

† *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 303.

‡ No. 301; apud *Burton's Diary*, edited by *J. T. Rutt, Esq.* 1828, Vol. III. p. 118.

place on Thursday, the 5th of July, 1655, under which date the following entry occurs in that work. "Mr. Biddle was apprehended by warrant from the Lord Mayor of the city of London; and, this day, by the care of the officers of the city, the dispute at Paul's touching the Deity of Christ, was dismissed." He was first cast into the Poultry-Compter, and afterwards committed to Newgate. At the next sessions he was put upon his trial, on the Ordinance of the 2nd of May, 1648. After the reading of the indictment, he prayed that counsel might be allowed him, to plead to its illegality; but his prayer was not granted. He then gave into court his exceptions, prepared in the usual legal form; and after some hesitation, was allowed the benefit of counsel. But the trial was deferred to the next day; and in the mean time, Cromwell interposed his authority, and arrested the proceedings against him. As he knew, that it was not for the interest of his government, that Mr. Biddle should be either acquitted, or condemned, he determined to take him out of the hands of the law, and detain him in prison, till some means could be devised of placing him beyond the reach of his enemies, and at the same time of preventing a recurrence of such scenes, as that which had recently involved him in so much danger. The Presbyterians as a body, he knew, would be offended by his acquittal, and a large section of the Baptists, who had petitioned for his release, he was well aware, would think that their own liberty was at stake, if a verdict of guilty should be brought in against him. The Protector himself also felt, that the terms, on which he had accepted

the government, would be infringed, if he allowed the trial to proceed; and particularly that which guaranteed the free exercise of their religion to all such as professed faith in God by Christ, and that which declared, that all previous Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, at variance with this liberty, should be deemed null and void. He determined, therefore, by way of compromise, and in order to prevent the consequences which might otherwise ensue, to take the law into his own hands, and get rid of the difficulty in a summary way, by sending Mr. Biddle to the Scilly Islands, which he did on the 5th of October, 1655.*

In the same year Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ-Church, was requested by the Council of State, to write a reply to Biddle's "Scripture Catechism." This led to the publication of his "*Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*," in the Preface to which,† he says, that "the evil is at the door," and "that there is not a city, a town, scarce a village in England, wherein some of this poison is not poured forth." Dr. Owen also, in his "Vindication of himself from the Animadversions of Richard Baxter, 1655,"‡ says, "I must add, if for a defensative of myself I should here transcribe and subscribe some Creed, already published, I must profess *it must not be that of Mr. B.*, which he calls the Worcestershire profession of Faith; and that as for other reasons, so *especially* for the way of delivering the doctrine of *the Trinity*, which but in one expression at most differs from the known confession of *the Socinians*; and in sun-

* *Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, Vol. I. pp. 206, 207.

† P. 69.

‡ 4to. pp. 6, 7.

dry particulars gives too great a countenance to their abominations; for instance, the first article of it is, 'I believe that there is one only God, the Father, infinite in being, &c. ;' which being carried on toward the end, and joined to the profession of consent, as it is called in these words, 'I doe heartily take this one God, for my only God and chiefest good, and this Jesus Christ for my only Lord Redeemer and Saviour,' *evidently distinguishes the Lord Jesus Christ* our Redeemer, as our Lord, *from that one true God*; which not only directly answers that question of Mr. *Biddle's*, 'How many Lords of Christians are there' in distinction from this one God? but in terms *falls in* with *that which* the *Socinians* profess to be the *tessera* of their sect and Churches, as they call them, which is, that they believe in the one true living God the Father, and in his only Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord. Nor am I at so great an indifferency in the businesse of the procession of the Holy Ghost, as to those expressions of, *from* and *by the Sonne*, as that confession is at; knowing that there is much more depends on these expressions as to the doctrine of the Trinity, than all the confessionists can readily apprehend."*

In 1656, the Rev. Nicholas Estwick, B.D., Rector of Warkton, in Northamptonshire, published, in 4to., a reply to Mr. Biddle's "Confession of Faith." The running title of this reply is, "Mr. Biddle's Socinian Catechisme examined and confuted;" and it was not till the greater part of it was printed, that the author found, he had not been answering Mr.

* Vide *Hunter's* "Illustrations and Proofs," in the *Hewley Case*, pp. 21, 22.

Biddle's "Catechisme," but his "Confession of Faith." For this curious blunder he thus apologises. "Christian Reader, we are to advertise thee of our great mistake in prefixing this title in the front of many pages: *Mr. Biddle's Socinian Catechism Examined and Confuted*: whereas it should have been, *A Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity, according to the Scripture, Examined and Confuted*: we tooke this his Confession of Faith to be his Catechism; but now wee understand that they are distinct Treatises, and of a different nature." The error was rectified when the title-page was printed, which contains no allusion to the Catechism. The work was dedicated to Edward, Lord Montague, of Broughton; and in the course of the Dedication, the author takes occasion to say, that Mr. Biddle's "writings have not been enclosed within the confines of our nation, but have taken their wings, and have fled beyond the seas, to the disreputation of our dear country, in the Reformed Churches, in so much that Maresius, Professour of Divinity at Groningen, a city which gives denomination to one of the seventeen Provinces, is bold to avouch, I do not say either truly or charitably, that Socinianisme hath fixed its metrapolitical seat here in England, and displayed openly the banners of its impiety."

That Unitarian opinions had found many advocates in England, when Mr. Estwick wrote, is evident from Chewney's "Anti-Socinianism," published in 4to., 1656, with an Appendix, entitled, "*Αἰρεσιᾶραι*, or, A Cage of Unclean Birds, containing the Authors, Promoters, Propagators, and Chief Dissemi-

nators of this damnable Socinian Heresie;" and from Bagshaw's "Dissertationes Duæ Anti-Socinianæ, in quibus probatur, (1) Socinianos non debere dici Christianos: (2) Discussio istius Quæstionis, An bona Infidelium Opera sint Peccata?" Lond. 1657, 12mo. The "Anti-Socinianism" of Chewney professes to contain "A brief Explication of some places of Holy Scripture, for the Confutation of certain gross Errours, and Socinian Heresies, lately published by William Pynchion, Gent. in a Dialogue of his, called, 'The Meritorious Price of our Redemption;'" and the "*Λειτουργία*" is made up of a series of highly-wrought biographical sketches, or rather caricatures, of some of the most eminent Antitrinitarians of modern times, including Servetus, the two Socini, uncle and nephew, Gentilis, Gribaldus, Blandrata, Alciati, Davidis, and many others. Bagshaw's work, which is dedicated to the Governors and Patrons of Westminster College and School, was written for the purpose of shewing, that, as long as the Socinians deny the Divinity of Christ they are not Christians; and that, as long as they follow the mere guidance of reason they are not Christians. The former thesis he endeavours to establish, *first*, by the authority of the Church; *secondly*, by the authority of Scripture; and *thirdly*, from the analogy of heathenism and Socinianism. In defence of the latter, (namely, that reason alone does not suffice for the understanding of the Mysteries of Faith,) he argues, *first*, against the weakness of the instrument, which is the human intellect; and *secondly*, from the excellence of the object, which consists of the Credenda and Agenda of the

Christian Religion. The latter part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the question respecting the good works of unbelievers, among whom, as a matter of course, he ranks the Socinians. The author of these Dissertations, the Rev. Edward Bagshaw, M.A., was the second Master of Westminster School. We learn from Wood,* that he was a man of abandoned and dissolute character, and one upon whose word no reliance could be placed; and yet this person takes upon himself to prove, that Unitarians are not Christians, and that their good works are of the nature of sin!

Biddle was now beyond the reach of his enemies; but it required all Cromwell's firmness and address, to stop the tide of persecution, and prevent those, who rejected the popular doctrine of the Trinity, from being molested, on account of their religious opinions. Allusion has already been made to the rebuke, which he gave to one of his Parliaments, for its intolerance, when he prematurely dissolved it, on the 22nd of January, 1655. On the 17th of September, 1656, at the opening of a new Parliament, he cautioned the members against the indulgence of an exclusive spirit; and plainly told them, that he would not allow one sect to tyrannize over another. "If a man of one form," said he, on that occasion, "will be trampling upon the heels of another form: if an Independent, for example, will despise him under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those on the Anabaptists

* Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 492.

shall be censuring the godly ministers of the nation that profess under that of Independency, or those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them; as I would not be willing to see the day on which England shall be in the power of the Presbytery, to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ, so I will not endure any to reproach *them*. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things equal; which, truly, I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had boxes and rebukes on one hand, and on the other; some envying me for Presbytery, others as an inlet to all the sects and heresies in the nation. I have borne my reproach; but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in preventing any one Religion to impose upon another."

By assuming this bold, and determined attitude, Cromwell succeeded in checking the spirit of intolerance; and preventing any one religious party from obtaining the ascendancy. Nothing but the extraordinary energy of his own character would have enabled him to do this. Had he listened exclusively to the counsels of one particular party, he would soon have created a host of enemies: but by humouring all in turn, and giving a preference to none, he was able to keep the balance even. At the beginning of the Long Parliament, he sided with the Presbyterians, who were then the predominant party; and when the Independents grew more numerous, and began to acquire political importance, he attached himself to them. But after he was advanced to the Protectorate, he made it his

aim to treat all religious parties alike, and shewed himself a friend to universal toleration. "He had some chaplains of all sorts," says *Bishop Burnet* ;* "and he began in his latter years to be gentler towards those of the Church of England." It was this Catholic spirit which led him to extend over Biddle the shield of his protection, by placing him beyond the reach of those, who were thirsting for his blood ; and the first moment that he thought he could safely recal him, an order was sent for his return, and he was brought to London by a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, after a banishment of between two and three years. No direct opposition appears to have been made to this act of clemency, by the zealots of any party : but it created much secret dissatisfaction, which was carefully suppressed during the short remnant of Cromwell's life, but which broke out into loud and open complaints immediately after his death. That event took place on the 3rd of September, 1658, about five months after the liberation of Biddle ; and it is not improbable, that it was effected by poison, prepared, if not actually administered, by the hands of intolerance and fanaticism.

Richard Cromwell summoned a Parliament for the 27th of January, 1659 ; and before it met, Mr. Biddle left London, and went into the country. It was with difficulty, however, that he was prevailed upon to do so ; for he felt that the post of danger

* History of his own Time. London, 1724, Fol. Vol. I. p. 68.

was, in his case, the post of duty. But the following entry in "*Burton's Diary*,"* shews, that the friend, who urged his temporary withdrawment from public life, evinced a wise precaution.

"Monday Afternoon. [Feb. 7, 1658-9.] The Grand Committee for Religion sat the first time, Mr. Bacon in the chair. A Sub-Committee was appointed to inquire how Biddle came to be released, being imprisoned for blasphemy."

A Committee similar to this would probably have been appointed by the preceding Parliament, which had been summoned by Oliver Cromwell for the 20th of January, 1658; but the father, more resolute than the son, and fitter to cope with the dangers by which his path was beset, suddenly cut short their deliberations on the 4th of February in that year,† before they had sat long enough to perpetrate the acts of folly and malignity which they had evidently contemplated.

Richard Cromwell, whose want of capacity for the situation, to which circumstances had accidentally raised him, soon became evident, was deposed by the army, May 6th, 1659.

On the deposition of Richard Cromwell, a new Council of State was chosen; and the Presbyterians, seeing no probability of reviving the Covenant, or coming into power by the Rump Parliament, which was made up chiefly of Enthusiasts, and declared

* Vol. III. p. 118.

† *White Locke's Mem.* p. 673.

enemies to monarchy, entered into a confederacy with the Royalists, to restore the ancient form of government, by King, Lords and Commons. In the celebrated Declaration from Breda, Charles II. solemnly promised "a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted, or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom."* In what manner this promise was fulfilled, the subsequent part of this brief narrative will shew.

The only direct opposition to the restoration of the Stuart family, was that raised by the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. But this fanatical movement was seized upon as a pretext, for breaking through the "Declaration of Indulgence," which the King had made at Breda. On the 10th of January, a Proclamation was issued, forbidding the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth-Monarchy-Men to assemble, under the pretext of worshiping God, except in some parochial Church or Chapel, or in private houses; and all Mayors and Peace-Officers were commanded to search for conventicles, and cause any persons, found assembled in them, to be bound over to the next sessions.† The suspicions of the Court were also roused against the Independents; and they, as well as the Baptists and Quakers, found it necessary to publish declarations, disavowing any

* *Neal's Hist.* Vol. IV. Ch. iv.

† *Neal's Hist.* Vol. IV. Ch. v.

connexion with the conspirators, and professing sentiments of loyalty towards the King, and his Government.

To introduce the Fifth Monarchy, under "King Jcsus," the conspirators had marched out of their Meeting-house, in Coleman Street, on Sunday, the 6th of January, under the command of one Thomas Venner, to the number of five thousand well-armed men; but after an ineffectual attempt to overturn the Government, in which they lost about half their number, finding that no one appeared to second their efforts, they surrendered, and Venner, with ten of his followers, was publicly executed. It so happened, that the Meeting-house of John Goodwin, the Arminian Independent, whose congregation consisted of members of suspicious orthodoxy, was situated in Coleman Street. He and his flock, therefore, were among the first to disclaim all connexion with Venner's movement, which they did in "A Declaration on the behalf of the Church of Christ usually meeting in Coleman Street, in Communion with Mr. John Goodwyn, against the late Insurrection made in the City of London." 1660. 4to. This Declaration was signed, on behalf of the Church, by Richard Pryor, John Weekes, John Wightman, George Backlar, Joseph Hutchinson, and Edward Addenbrook. It contained sentiments worthy of the religious society from which it emanated. "We enter our just protest," say they, "against their unchristian and unman-like principle, after the custome of Mahomet, to propagate Religion by the sword: The Gospel we own and profess, is not *Evangelium armatum*, an armed Gospel: the

weapons of that warfare, wherein we serve as Christians, are not carnal, but spiritual: The Scriptures, Reasons and Arguments, are those offensive and defensive armes that we have taken up, in the quarrel of religion, and with which, and no other, we seek to defend, propagate and maintain it. If it were their principle to reduce men to the obedience of Christ, in a way less mild, rational and convictive, we assure the world it is none of ours.”* *Bishop Burnet* says, in express terms, that John Goodwin headed the Fifth-Monarchy-Men:† but the Declaration, from which the above extract is given, clearly proves the contrary; and it is remarkable, that, in the face of this disclaimer, such a calumny should have received the sanction of so respectable a writer.

There was something particularly manly and straightforward in the Address of certain Kentish Baptists, on the restoration of the royal family, in the person of Charles the Second. After making “a full acknowledgment of the King’s authority and dignity in civil things, over all manner of persons, ecclesiastical and civil, within his Majesties dominions,” they add, “From all this that we have said, thou O King mayest see, that not without grounds, do we deny the taking the oath of thy Supremacy, which calls for obedience, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical things and causes, as temporal; not but that we can freely acknowledge thee to be Supream Governor of all persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, but still in temporal causes

* P. 3.

† History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 67.

and things.”* This document is “dated the 25th day of the 11th moneth commonly called *January*,” and “signed in the name of the Baptists, Prisoners in the Goal at Maydstone,” by William Jeffery, George Hammon, John Reve, and James Blackmore.

About this time “A brief Confession or Declaration of Faith,” remarkable for the liberality of its doctrinal sentiments, was put forth by “certain Elders, Deacons, and Brethren,” among the Baptists, assembled in London, on behalf of themselves, and many others of the same persuasion, in the Metropolis, and throughout England. The number of signatures attached to this document was seventy-three; and among its leading articles are the following. “I. We believe, and are very confident, that there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, from everlasting to everlasting, glorious and unwordable in all his attributes, 1 Cor. viii. 6. Isa. xl. 28.—III. That there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, who is the only-begotten Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, being the true Lord and root of David, and also his Son and offspring according to the flesh; whom God freely sent into the world because of his great love to the world; who as freely gave himself a ransom for all; tasting death for every man; a propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of

* The Humble Petition and Representation of the Sufferings of several peaceable and innocent Subjects, called by the Name of Anabaptists, Inhabitants of the County of Kent, and now Prisoners in the Goal of Maidstone, for the Testimony of a good Conscience. London, 1660, 4to., pp. 13, 14.

the whole world. Luke xx. 24. Rev. xxii. 16. 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6. 1 John ii.—VII. That there is one Holy Spirit, the precious gift of God, freely given to such as obey him; Eph. iv. 4. Acts v. 32, that thereby they may be thoroughly sanctified, and made able (without which they are altogether unable) to abide stedfast in the faith, and to honour the Father, and his Son Christ, the author and finisher of their faith. 1 Cor. vi. 11. There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one; 1 John v. 7, which Spirit of promise such have not yet received, (though they speak much of him) that are so far out of Love, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Meekness and Temperance, (the fruits of the Spirit, Gal. v. 22, 23,) as they breathe out much cruelty, and great envy against the liberties, and peaceable living of such as are not of their judgment, though holy as to their conversation." There is a studious adherence to scriptural language throughout the whole of this Confession; and although the text relating to the three heavenly witnesses is quoted, each subscriber is left to put his own interpretation upon it; and the word *Trinity* is not once mentioned, nor is the slightest allusion made to the doctrine. *Mr. Whiston* first met with this paper at Mr. Copper's Meeting-house, at Tunbridge Wells, in July, 1748; and was so struck with it, that he procured a copy for insertion in the "Memoirs" of his own "Life and Writings," where it occupies from p. 561 to p. 575. But the Baptists, in the time of the Commonwealth, were a very miscellaneous body; and though there were then, as

there are in the present day, sections of that denomination, preëminently distinguished, among their contemporary religionists, by the largeness of their views, and the liberality of their feelings, there were others, who diverged into the opposite extremes of fanaticism and narrow-mindedness.

During the time which elapsed, between the commencement of the civil war, in the reign of Charles I., and the Restoration of the Stuart family, the Church of England was laid prostrate. The Presbyterians, who were at first the most powerful body among the Nonconformists, expected, by the aid of the Scotch, to succeed in establishing their form of Church Government, upon the ruins of Episcopacy; and for a time their efforts for this purpose seemed likely to be crowned with success. But they soon discovered, that they had formidable rivals to contend with in the Independents, and the various classes of Sectaries which sprang up, and claimed their share in the division of the spoil. We have already seen, how numerous and diversified were the religious bodies, to which those times gave birth; and if we are to believe a tenth part of the following description of the religious teachers of that day, extracted from a pamphlet which made its appearance in the year of the Restoration, we can scarcely wonder, that a large portion of the more sober inhabitants of the kingdom were prepared to hail any change which might take place, as an alteration for the better. “They are motley and mongrel *predicants*, centaurs in the Church, half clericks and half laicks, the by-blows of the clergy, gifted hypocrites, severe *momusses*, a whining peo-

ple, *tribolary* Christians, new dwindling divines, the prophetical *pigmies* of this age, unordained, unblest, untried, unclean spirits, whose calling, commission and tenure, depends on popularity, flattery and beggary; their excellency consists in *tautologizing*, in praying *extempore*, that is, out of all time, without order or method; being eminent in nothing above the *plebeian* pitch and vulgar proportion. They spin out their sermons at their wheels, or weave them up at their looms, or dig them out with their spades, weigh or measure them in their shops, or stitch and cobble them with their thimble and lasts; or thrash them out with their flayls, and afterward preach them in some barn to their dusty disciples, who, the better to set off the oddness of their silly teachers, fancy themselves into some imaginary persecution, as if they were driven into dens, and caves, and woods. Their holy and learned academies, where they first conned this chymical new divinity, and are since come to so great proficiency, were *Munster's Revelations*, *Geneva's Calvinism*, *Amsterdam's Toleration*, and *New England's Preciseness*." The pamphlet, from pp. 49 and 50 of which the above extract is made, bears the following title. "A Briefe Description or Character of the Religion and Manners of the Phanatiques in generall. Scil. Anabaptists, Independents, Brownists, Enthusiasts, Levellers, Quakers, Seekers, Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and Dippers: shewing and refuting their Absurdities by due Application, reflecting much also on Sir John Præcisian, and other Novelists. *Non seria semper*. London, printed, and are to be sold by most Stationers. 1660." In this

pamphlet, although the Socinians are not mentioned as a separate body in the title-page, an attempt is made to fix the charge of Socinianism on some of the religious denominations, to which a specific reference is made. The author says, for instance,* "If they use the ancient doxology giving glory to the Trinity, as the Greek and Latin Churches ever did, their *Socinian* and *Arian* ears are so offended, as if Christians should ask them leave to own the blessed Trinity." In another place,† he describes the affections of the *Phanatiques*, as "apt to run out into much disorder and confusion in rustical impertinencies, and pitiful rhapsodies of confused stuff, spitting out their poison like the *Racovian* Catechism, and such like primers of the devil:" and having censured such as he deemed the more extravagant *Phanatiques*, he adds,‡ "Some, though fiery, yet are orderly and patient in government; though they excel in gifts, yet are not swelled with tumours. But these are as unsavoury salt, that is good for nothing, unless it be new-boiled in an *Independent*, or *Levelling* cauldron, over a *Socinian* furnace, with a popular fire."§ The pamphlet, from which these extracts are made, bears strong internal evidence of being the production of one, who bore no good will to sectarianism, under any of its forms; and to whom high Calvinism was as offensive as low Arianism, or Socinianism. Many of its statements, too, are of a grossly exaggerated character: but it affords no bad specimen of the estimate,

* P. 12.

† P. 15.

‡ P. 42.

§ Mon. Rep. Vol. XII. p. 102.

formed of the opponents of the Trinity, by a zealous Episcopalian, at the time of the Restoration.

Certain London Pastors, in an Address published in the year, 1660, complained, that the state of religion in those times was corrupted by many dreadful errors, such as a denial of the Deity of Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and of a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. They asserted also that these errors had long been openly professed;* and had the Presbyterians acquired the ascendancy at which they aimed, there can be little doubt, that stringent measures would have been adopted for the suppression of these presumed errors. But Episcopacy triumphed, and it became the policy of the successful party, to guard against a reaction, in favour of the Presbyterian form of Church Government. With this view several legislative measures were passed, the object of which was to produce a compulsory conformity: and the most unscrupulous means were resorted to, for the purpose of attaining that object. The Presbyterian Divines, during the palmy days of the Westminster Assembly, had done all in their power to check the spread of what they were pleased to call "heresy and blasphemy;" and were not disposed to tolerate any opinions, but those which made the nearest approximation to their own. It was now their turn to submit to the iron yoke of oppression; and to feel what it was, to be deprived of that liberty of thought and action in religious matters, which, in the day of their power, they had been so eager to withhold from others.

* *Sandii Nucleus Hist. Eccles. Colon.* 1676, 4to. p. 431.

In 1661, *the Corporation Act* was passed. It was entitled, "An Act for the well-governing and regulating Corporations;" and excluded all persons from offices of magistracy and trust in corporate towns, who had not, within a year before their appointment, taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England. This Act affected all Nonconformists alike, and virtually confined all corporate offices to bonâ-fide members of the Church of England.

In 1662, *the Act of Uniformity* was passed. This Act rendered it imperative upon every Clergyman to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained, and prescribed, in and by the Book of Common Prayer; incapacitated every person from holding a benefice, or administering the Lord's Supper, who had not previously received episcopal ordination; and prohibited any one from preaching, or conducting public worship, unless he did it according to the rites of the Church of England. It also enacted, that the several laws and statutes formerly made for uniformity of prayer, some of which were arbitrary in the extreme, and did not even so much as recognize in any one, whether Clergyman or Layman, the right to dissent in the slightest particular from the doctrines and usages of the Established Church, should continue in force, and be applied for punishing all offences against the said laws. The effect of this Act was, to deprive upwards of two thousand Ministers of their benefices, which they had held during the time of the Commonwealth; and to put it out of their power, to continue their ministerial

labours, after this sacrifice to conscience, without exposing themselves to the penalties attached to Nonconformity.

During these perilous times, Mr. Biddle found it necessary to hold his meetings more privately than he had previously done: but his movements were narrowly watched, and on the 1st of June, 1662, about a fortnight after the Act of Uniformity had received the royal assent, he was apprehended in his own lodgings, while conducting divine worship in the presence of a few friends, and carried before Sir Richard Brown, a London Magistrate, who refused to bail him, and committed the whole party to prison. Mr. Biddle was shut up in a solitary cell for the space of five hours; but the Recorder, on application being made to him, accepted the usual security, and bound the parties over to appear, and take their trial at the sessions. They attended at the proper time; but no statute could be found, under which to indict them. They were, therefore, re-committed, and their trial was ordered to stand over till the sessions following, when they were indicted at common law; and being pronounced guilty, Mr. Biddle was sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred pounds, and each of his hearers one of twenty pounds. An order was at the same time made for their detention in prison, till the money should be paid. The Sheriff, Meynel, would have mitigated Mr. Biddle's fine to ten pounds, but to this Sir Richard Brown objected in the most positive terms, at the same time expressing his determination to commit Mr. Biddle to prison, and keep him there for the next seven years, though the

whole fine should be paid. This was the cause of his not being released; for if his personal liberty could have been guaranteed, there would have been no difficulty in raising the money. He had been in prison little more than a month, when, owing to the want of cleanliness and ventilation in the place, he contracted a disease, which terminated his life in a few days.*

About this time an application was made to the Unitarians throughout Europe, for contributions in behalf of the members of the Polish Unitarian Churches, who had recently been expelled from their native country;† and although the noblemen and gentlemen, who made the application, knew that there were comparatively few families in England, avowedly holding Unitarian sentiments, they sent a letter over to this country, entreating such assistance as could be had. Mr. Firmin, on this occasion, exerted himself to procure pecuniary aid among his own friends, and succeeded in obtaining some collections in Churches, though no Brief was issued.‡ Whether these collections were made before or after the Act of Uniformity was passed, we are not told. All that we know is, that they were made in the year 1662, and at the suggestion of THOMAS FIRMIN, who was then, and remained during the next thirty-five years, an active and zealous promoter of the Unitarian cause.§

* A Short Account of the Life of John Biddle, M. A. pp. 8, 9.

† APPENDIX, No. xv.

‡ The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, late Citizen of London, pp. 24, 25.

§ Vide *Art.* 353.

It was stated above, that when Mr. Biddle and his friends appeared the first time to take their trial, "no statute could be found under which to indict them." The Draconick Ordinance of 1648* had not obtained the force of law, and no other Act could be discovered, which fully met the circumstances of the case. This supposed defect of the law was not allowed to remain long without a remedy; for early in the year 1664 an Act was passed for suppressing seditious conventicles, which empowered Sheriffs, or Justices of the Peace, or others commissioned by them, to dissolve, dissipate, and break up all unlawful conventicles, and to take into custody such of their number as they should think fit. This Act, usually known by the name of *the Conventicle Act*, declares the 35th of Queen Elizabeth to be in full force, which condemns all persons refusing peremptorily to go to Church, on conviction, to banishment, and in case of return, to death, without benefit of Clergy. It further enacts, that "if any person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July, 1664, shall be present at any meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England, where there shall be five or more persons than the household, shall for the first offence suffer three months' imprisonment, upon record made upon oath, under the hand and seal of a Justice of Peace, or pay the sum of five pounds; for the second offence, six months' imprisonment, or ten pounds; and for the third

* APPENDIX, No. xvii.

offence, the offender to be banished to some of the American plantations for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds, except New England and Virginia; and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of Clergy." Those who allowed such conventicles in their houses, or outbuildings, were declared liable to the same forfeitures as other offenders. The Act was to continue in force for three years after the next session of Parliament.

This Act rendered it extremely dangerous to hold meetings for Unitarian, or any other kind of dissenting worship; and Mr. Firmin, who, though a conscientious, was a prudent and timid man, from this time attended no worship in public, but that of the Church of England, although he privately held, and was well known to hold, no other than Unitarian sentiments. He had formerly been a hearer of the Rev. John Goodwin, and the Rev. John Biddle. But during Mr. Biddle's exile he commenced business on his own account in Lombard Street; and being unwilling to absent himself from public worship, he attended the ministry first of Mr. Jacomb, and afterwards of Dr. Outram, Clergymen of the Established Church. With these two gentlemen he cultivated an intimate friendship; and about the same time he formed an acquaintance with Dr. Benj. Whichcote, Provost of King's College, Cambridge; Dr. John Worthington, afterwards Master of Jesus College, Cambridge; Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester; and Mr., afterwards Dr. Tillotson, and Archbishop of Canterbury. By these eminent men he was held in the

highest esteem; and the preferment, which they obtained in the Church, never caused the slightest abatement in their regard for him, or their respect for his character. But his belief in the Divine Unity continued unshaken; and he evinced great firmness of purpose, as well as strength of mind, in resisting the arguments and importunities of his clerical friends, who were desirous of bringing him over to their own opinion respecting the doctrine of the Trinity.*

The number of Clergymen, entertaining liberal sentiments on doctrinal subjects, was at this time very considerable;—a circumstance which rendered it less offensive for a Unitarian, than it would otherwise have been, to attend the Church service. These were generally Cambridge men, who had been formed under such Divines as Doctors Whichcote, Cudworth, Wilkins, More and Worthington.† They seldom preached upon controverted points of doctrine, which led many to suspect, that they were tainted with heresy. Indeed it is generally admitted, that many, who held valuable livings after the Restoration, believed only in a Modal Trinity; and some are known to have been decided Unitarians. “All these,” says Bishop Burnet, alluding to the eminent Divines above mentioned, “and those that were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved

* The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, pp. 13—15.

† *Bp. Burnet's Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 186.

the constitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them: But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and in divinity: From whence they were called men of Latitude. And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of Latitudinarians. They read *Episcopius* much. And the making out the reasons of things being a main part of their studies, their enemies called them Socinians. They were all very zealous against popery. And so, they becoming soon very considerable, the Papists set themselves against them to decry them as Atheists, Deists and Socinians.* Associating, as Mr. Firmin did, with Divines of this class, he had the less difficulty in reconciling his private views, respecting the Trinity, with the outward conformity which he practised. Yet his conduct in this respect has been severely, and justly censured by many; and has not escaped the animadversion and rebuke of the venerable *Theophilus Lindsey*, who, from the delicate and trying situation, in which he himself was long placed, as a beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England, and from his ultimate secession from its communion, was perhaps as competent as any one to give a just, and unbiassed decision upon the subject. "It must be owned," says he,† "that he much

* P. 188.

† Hist. View, Chap. v. p. 205.

diserved the cause he had at heart, by his own contradictory and inconsistent conduct, at least what appeared so to others ; because, professing to believe the Father of Christ, and of mankind, to be the only true God, he continued to frequent those Christian assemblies, where two other persons, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, were each of them prayed unto severally, and worshiped together with the Supreme Father of all."

The year 1665 will be ever memorable in the annals of England, as that of the Great Plague, which, in the course of nine months, carried off nearly a hundred thousand persons in the city of London, and the neighbouring towns and villages. Most of the wealthier citizens removed, with their families, into the country ; and, among the number, Mr. Firmin. But his biographer tells us, that he "left a kinsman in his house, with the order to relieve some poor weekly, and to give out stuff to employ them in making such commodities as they were wont. He foresaw that he should be hard put to it, to dispose of such an abundance of commodities as these poor people would work off, in so long time, for him only : but when he returned to London, a wealthy chapman (who was greatly pleased with his adventurous charity) bought an extraordinary quantity of those goods ; so that he incurred no loss, at that time, by employing the poor."*

During this severe visitation, Mr. John Knowles was in London, where he exercised the office of a

* Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, p. 27.

Unitarian teacher. In this capacity it seems not improbable that he succeeded Mr. Biddle: but he was imprisoned like him, and shared the same unmerited injuries.* He appears to have been one of the earliest sufferers under the Conventicle Act; but was enjoying his liberty the year after the plague, at which time he is represented as conversing freely with the Clergy, among whom his learning, and seriousness in religion, were well known.†

Another Unitarian, who was one of Mr. Biddle's hearers, and whose youth screened him from the operation of the Act for suppressing Conventicles, died in the year of the plague, to which fatal disease he probably fell a victim. His name was NATHANIEL STUCKEY;‡ and though he had not attained the age of sixteen at the time of his death, he left behind him a monument of his talent and industry, in a Latin translation of Mr. Biddle's "Twofold Catechism," and a short treatise "On the Death of Christ," in the same language. These were published together in a small 8vo. volume, A. D. 1665.

In the same year issued from the press, in small 4to., an English translation of *John Crellius's* celebrated treatise, "De Uno Deo Patre." It purported to have been "printed in Kosmoburg, at the Sign of the Sun-beams, in the Year of our Lord MDCLXV." The name of the translator is not mentioned; but it is probable, that the expense of printing was defrayed by Mr. Firmin, the great patron of Unitarianism.

* The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy concerning the Unity of God: by a *Divine of the Church of England*, p. 16.

† Ibid.

‡ Vide *Art.* 344.

rian publications in those times. "Kosmoburg" is supposed to have been a fictitious name for *Amsterdam*.^{*} It may, however, have been intended for *London*; and the real publisher was probably Richard Moone, at the Seven Stars, St. Paul's Church Yard, the well-known bookseller employed to usher into the world other works of a similar character and tendency, in the time of the Commonwealth. The title-page, some copies of which were printed in black, and others in red ink,[†] was as follows. "The Two Books of John Crellius Francus, touching One God the Father, wherein many things also concerning the Nature of the *Son of God*, and the *Holy Spirit* are discoursed of. Translated out of the *Latin* into *English*."

Notwithstanding the awful visitation of 1665, that year was not allowed to pass away, without another of those oppressive Acts, which followed each other in such quick succession, during the reign of Charles II. The parliament, which passed this Act, had adjourned to Oxford, to avoid the infection of the plague; and hence the Act in question is sometimes called *the Oxford Act*. But the name, by which it is more commonly known, is *the Five-mile Act*, because it restrains all Nonconformist Ministers, who have not declared their assent to the Book of Common Prayer, and taken a certain oath, from coming or being within *five miles* of any city, town corporate, or borough that sends burgesses to parliament; or within *five miles* of any parish, town,

^{*} *Toulmin's Memoirs of the Life, Character, Sentiments and Writings of Faustus Socinus*, p. 422.

[†] *Mon. Rep.* Vol. III. pp. 14. 142.

or place, wherein they have, since the Act of Oblivion, been Parson, Vicar, or Lecturer, unless in passing the road; under a penalty of forty pounds. This iniquitous Act further prohibits all persons whatever, who refuse to take the aforesaid oath, from teaching any public or private schools, or from taking any boarders, or tablers, to be taught or instructed, under the same penalty.

This law bore with peculiar hardship upon the ejected Ministers; and if its provisions could have been fully carried out, it would not only have had the effect of silencing that generation of Nonconformist Preachers, but would have prevented them from devoting themselves to the business of instruction, (the only employment, besides that of preaching, for which their education and habits qualified them,) and consequently from training up a succession of young men, to take their own places, among the Dissenters of the next generation. These were, in fact, the main objects of the law. But many of these brave men set it at defiance; and determined to incur its cruel penalties, rather than abandon what they felt to be the line of their duty. Nonconformity, which had before found its chief strongholds in the cities and large towns, now began to diffuse itself far and wide over the country: and though the keepers of seminaries, for the education of Dissenting youths, were frequently indicted under the *Five-mile Act*, many of them lived to see better times, and had the satisfaction, in their old age, of witnessing a succession of young men, who had been trained up under their own roofs, called to fill important stations in the ministry, and in civil life.

They had seen enough of the evils of establishments, and of their utter inefficacy to secure uniformity of opinion; and from that time forward, the Presbyterians, grown wise by experience, abandoned for ever the idea of regaining their former ascendancy, and ultimately became the most strenuous advocates of religious freedom, unfettered by creeds, and articles, and forms of Church Government. The natural consequence of this change was the introduction of a more liberal tone of theology among their descendants, a gradual departure from the tenets of Calvinism, and an almost imperceptible transition, from Trinitarianism, through the various intermediate shades of opinion, down to simple Unitarianism. So complete, indeed, has this change been, that the great body of English Unitarians in the present day, are the only legitimate representatives of the Presbyterians of the reign of Charles II.

No sooner had the ravages of the plague begun to abate, than the inhabitants of London were visited by another awful calamity. The Great Fire broke out on the 2nd of September, 1666, and, within three or four days, consumed thirteen thousand, two hundred dwelling houses; eighty-nine Churches, including the Cathedral of St. Paul's; and many public structures, schools, libraries and stately edifices.* The loss which the city of London sustained by this fire was estimated at ten millions sterling. Mr. Firmin's house in Lombard Street was destroyed; but the great mass of his property escaped the conflagration. His first care, after the

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. IV. p. 404.

extinction of the fire, was to make a permanent provision for the poor. He built a warehouse on the banks of the Thames, for the reception of corn and coals, to be sold to the poor at reasonable and moderate rates, in seasons of scarcity.* Nor was this the only good arising out of the terrible evil, which had befallen the citizens of London; for the Court Prelates began to take the alarm, and durst not, for a time, prosecute the Nonconformist Preachers so severely as before.† In the year of the Great Fire, CHRISTOPHER CRELLIUS‡ visited England, and was kindly received by the Unitarians of this country. He was at that time an exile, and a widower with four motherless children. Mrs. Stuckey, the mother of Nathan. Stuckey, offered to take charge of two of these children,—a son and a daughter; and the offer was duly appreciated by their father, who did not however accept it unconditionally, but, on his return into Silcsia, made it known to his friends, and was urged by them to avail himself of it. He accordingly brought over the two children in 1668, and consigned them to the care of their kind protectress. SAMUEL CRELLIUS,§ who himself appears to have been the boy of whom Mrs. Stuckey took charge, has given an interesting account of his father's two journeys to England, in a letter to a friend, for the preservation of which we are indebted to Mr. Fred. Adrian Vander Kemp, of the United States of America.||

* Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, pp. 27, 28.

† *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. IV. p. 405.

‡ Vide *Art.* 321.

§ Vide *Art.* 358.

|| APPENDIX, No. xviii.

The year 1667 was memorable for the fall of the Earl of Clarendon; after which, Nonconformity about London began to be connived at, and people went openly to their Meeting-houses without fear. The King moved for a general toleration;* and a project was formed by Lord Keeper Bridgeman, Lord Chief Justice Hale, and some of the more liberal dignitaries of the Church, for a comprehension of such Nonconformists as could be brought within the pale of the Church, by judicious and well-timed efforts, and for a toleration of the rest. But this project was blasted by the intrigues of the Court Bishops.†

The Quakers, who, at their first appearance, had astonished all sober-minded men by the violence of their proceedings, and the indiscriminate attacks which they made upon existing opinions and institutions, in the course of a few years became, and have ever since remained, a quiet, orderly, and peculiarly estimable body of Christians. To this change William Penn contributed not a little by his writings, and his extensive personal influence. But although he and others, who felt themselves called upon, as occasion required, to defend the common principles of their body, did so, as far as such principles existed, and were understood by the leading Quakers themselves, no systematic work on the subject was published, till Robert Barclay wrote his celebrated "Apology;" and as that work has ever since been considered a standard one, it is natural to look to it for a statement of the doctrinal

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. IV. p. 410.

† Pp. 413, 414. *Burnet's Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 259.

opinions of the early Quakers. But it is a remarkable fact, that Barclay, though he writes fully on the Quaker doctrine of the Spirit, and spiritual influence, nowhere makes the slightest allusion to the doctrine of the Trinity.* William Penn attacked the notion of three persons in one God, and came out at last with a species of Sabellianism; and it is certain, whatever may be said or written to the contrary by the leaders of the sect in our own times, that Isaac Pennington, John Crook, and the early Quakers generally, not excepting even Robert Barclay himself, did not believe in the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity.

In 1668, appeared "The Sandy Foundation shaken: or, those so generally believed and applauded Doctrines of One God, subsisting in three distinct and separate Persons; the Impossibility of God's pardoning Sinners, without a plenary Satisfaction; the Justification of impure Persons by an imputative Righteousness; refuted from Authority of Scripture Testimonies and Right Reason: by William Penn, a Builder on that Foundation which cannot be moved." 4to. The circumstances, which led to the publication of this tract, are fully detailed in *Clarkson's* "Life of Penn,"† and may be seen briefly summed up by an intelligent Quaker lady, in the "Monthly Repository" for 1822,‡ as follows. "Two persons of the Presbyterian congregation in Spital-fields, went one day to the Meeting-house of the Quakers, merely to learn what their religious doc-

* *Clarkson's Portraiture of Quakerism*, Vol. II. p. 315.

† Vol. I. p. 36.

‡ Vol. XVII. pp. 271, 272.

trines were. It happened that they were converted there. This news being carried to Thomas Vincent, their Pastor, it so stirred him up, that he not only used his influence to prevent the converts from attending there again, but he decried the doctrines of the Quakers as damnable. This slander caused William Penn and George Whitehead, an eminent Minister among the Quakers, to demand an opportunity to defend themselves publicly. This, with a good deal of demur, was granted, and the Presbyterian Meeting-house fixed upon for the purpose. When the time came, the Quakers presented themselves at the door, but Vincent, to secure a majority, had filled a great part of the Meeting-house with his own hearers, so that there was but little room for them. Penn and Whitehead, however, with a few others of the Society, pushed their way in: they had scarcely done this, when they heard proclaimed aloud, 'that the Quakers held damnable doctrines.' Immediately George Whitehead shewed himself, and began to explain aloud what the principles of the Society really were: but Vincent interrupted him, contending that it would be a better way of proceeding for himself to examine the Quakers as to their own creed. Vincent, having carried his point, began by asking the Quakers whether they owned one Godhead subsisting in three distinct and separate persons. Penn and Whitehead both asserted that this, delivered as it was by Vincent, was no 'scriptural doctrine.'—Clarkson, after going more at large into the subject, adds, 'it will not be necessary to detail the arguments brought forward

in this controversy, in which nothing was settled ;' but he describes the great intemperance betrayed by several of the Presbyterians, so that it was impossible to obtain a hearing. This then was the cause for William Penn's writing 'the Sandy Foundation shaken,' which gave offence, from its being entirely misunderstood."

At the time of this disputation, Mr. Firmin, and some other Unitarians, were much pleased with the views of these two zealous and able champions of Quakerism ; because, as far as those views were developed in the course of the discussion, they exactly coincided with those professed by Mr. Firmin and his friends. The disputants, however, were not aware, that Mr. Firmin and his friends were followers of Mr. Biddle. When they discovered this, the secret of the admiration, with which they had inspired their new acquaintance, became at once apparent ; and was found to be "an implicit vindication of one of their principles," namely, that which denies the existence of one God in three distinct and separate persons. This involved the Quakers, as a body, in the charge of Socinianism, of which they were openly accused from the pulpit ; and the zeal, with which their cause was pleaded by the Unitarians, tended not a little to strengthen the common report.

On the publication of "The Sandy Foundation shaken," it was seen, that the author agreed with the followers of Mr. Biddle, in denying, not only the commonly-received doctrine of the Trinity, but those of Satisfaction, and Imputed Righteousness. Mr. Firmin, therefore, was disposed to regard the views

of Penn as substantially identical with his own ;* and such was the general impression. Their publication, indeed, excited so much attention, and gave so much offence to the leading dignitaries of the Church, that a warrant was issued by Lord Arlington, Principal Secretary of State, for the apprehension of Penn ; and he was committed to the Tower. Here he was kept under close confinement, and his friends were not allowed to visit him. When he had been in prison some time, his servant brought him word, that the Bishop of London, Dr. Henchman, had resolved that he should either publicly recant, or linger out the rest of his life in prison ; on which he is said to have made the following remarks. " All is well : I wish they had told me so before, since the expecting of a release put a stop to some business. Thou mayest tell my father, who I know will ask thee, these words ; that my prison shall be my grave, before I will budge a jot ; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man ; I have no need to fear. God will make amends for all. They are mistaken in me ; I value not their threats, nor resolutions ; for they shall know I can weary out their malice and peevishness ; and in me shall they all behold a resolution above fear ; conscience above cruelty ; and a baffle put to all their designs, by the spirit of patience, the companion of all the tribulated flock of the blessed Jesus, who is the author and finisher of the faith that overcomes the world, yea, death and hell too. Neither great nor good things were ever attained without loss and hardships. He

* A Key opening the Way to every Capacity, &c. by *W. Penn*, 1692 ; apud Mon. Rep. Vol. XII. pp. 348. 479, 480.

that would reap and not labour, must faint with the wind, and perish in disappointments; but an hair of my head shall not fall, without the Providence of my Father, that is over all."*

While Penn continued in the Tower, he was not so entirely shut out from the world, as to be ignorant of the reports, which were circulated to his prejudice; and this led him to publish an apology, under the title of "Innocency with her Open Face," which appeared in the beginning of the year 1669. His biographer says, "In this Apology he so successfully vindicated himself, that soon after the publication of it, he was discharged from his imprisonment, which had been of about seven months' continuance." But this statement is calculated to mislead; for though Penn's release followed the publication of this apology at no long interval, the one was not the cause of the other, and indeed had not the remotest connexion with it. His liberation was owing to the intercession of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., as appears from a letter, written by Penn himself to W. Popple, Esq., Oct. 24th, 1688, in which he alludes to a particular favour, conferred upon him by this King, in getting him released out of the Tower of London, in 1669.†

The object of the apologetical tract, entitled, "Innocency with her Open Face," was not, we are told, to disown, or explain away what he had written in "The Sandy Foundation shaken;" but to vindi-

* A Portraiture of Primitive Quakerism by *William Penn*: with a modern Sketch of reputed Orthodoxy and real Intolerance by Ratcliff Monthly Meeting. 1812. Pref. p. vi.

† Ubi supra, pp. vii, viii.

cate himself from the aspersions which had been cast upon him, as the author of that work, and to refute the misrepresentations to which it had given rise. Penn was, in truth, a Unitarian in no other sense, than as he was a Sabellian, which has been defined "a Unitarian in a mist;" and the principal object of his apology was to set the world right on that point. "I am constrained," says he, "for the sake of the simple-hearted, to publish to the world of our faith in God, Christ and the Holy Spirit: We do believe in one Holy God Almighty, who is an eternal spirit, the creator of all things, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only Son, and express image of his substance, who took upon him flesh, and was in the world; and in life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension and mediation, perfectly did and does continue to do the will of God, to whose holy life, power, mediation and blood, we only ascribe our sanctification, justification and perfect salvation. And we believe in one Holy Spirit that proceeds from the Father and the Son, a measure of which is given to all to profit with; and he that has one has all, for 'these three are one,' who is the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, God over all, blessed for ever. Amen."

After alluding to the misconceptions, which had prevailed respecting the object of his "Sandy Foundation shaken," he passes a high eulogium upon Socinus, which it is unnecessary to quote in the present connexion, but which will not be forgotten in our account of that excellent man, and illustrious reformer.*

* Vide *Art.* 90.

When Penn had more fully explained his own views, Mr. Firmin charged him with an abandonment of the principles, which he had advocated in his "Sandy Foundation shaken;" and this led to a breach of the friendship which had sprung up between them.* Nor was Mr. Firmin singular in the opinion; that the views developed in the second tract were irreconcilable with those propounded, and advocated in the first. But Penn, in his letter to Dr. Collenges, a Clergyman, endeavoured to vindicate himself from this charge of inconsistency.

"The matter insisted upon, relating to us on this occasion," says Penn,† "is, that we, in common with Socinians, do not believe Christ to be the eternal Son of God, and I am brought in proof of the charge. 'The Sandy Foundation Shaken' touched not upon this, but Trinity, separate personality, &c. I have two things to do; first, to shew I expressed nothing that divested Christ of his divinity; next, declare my true meaning and faith in the matter. I am to suppose that when any adversary goes about to prove his charge against me out of my own book, he takes that which is most to his purpose. Now let us see what thou hast taken out of that book, so evidently demonstrating the truth of thy assertion. I find nothing more to thy purpose than this; that I deny a Trinity of separate persons in the godhead. Ergo, what? Ergo, William Penn denies Christ to be the only true God; or that Christ, the Son of God, is from everlasting to everlasting, God. Did ever man yet hear such argumentation? Doth

* Mon. Rep. Vol. XII. p. 348, No. 12.

† Works, Vol. I. p. 165, as quoted in Mon. Rep. Vol. XVII. p. 468.

Dr. Collenges know logic no better? But (which is more condemnable in a Minister) hath he learnt charity so ill? Are not Trinity and Personality one thing, and Christ's being the eternal Son of God another? Must I therefore necessarily deny his Divinity, because I justly reject the Popish School Personality? This savours of such weakness or disingenuity, as can never stand with the credit of so great a scribe to be guilty of. Hast thou never read of Paulus Samosatensis, that denied the divinity of Christ, and Macedonius that oppugned the deity of the Holy Ghost? And dost thou in good earnest think they were one in judgment with Sabellius, that only rejected the imaginary personality of those times; who at the same instant owned and confessed to the Eternity and Godhead of Christ Jesus our Lord? It is manifest, then, that though I may deny the Trinity of separate persons in one Godhead, yet I do not consequentially deny the Deity of Jesus Christ."

The truth is, that Penn, and the early Quakers, professed to acknowledge Christ, in what they called "his double *appearance*," or, as they more commonly expressed it, "in the flesh," and "in the spirit." He was *the man* Christ Jesus, inasmuch as he was "of the seed of Abraham:" but in the spirit, he was "*God over all, blessed for ever*." In the former relation, they regarded him as a *person*: in the latter, as "a divine *principle* of light and life in the soul." Penn complained, that the want of this distinction, which he represented as both "necessary and evident," led the adversaries of the Quakers into frequent mistakes about their "belief, and applica-

tion of the Scriptures of truth, concerning Christ in that twofold capacity."*

Some writers in our own times have represented the early Quakers as believing more, and others less than they actually did. One thing, however, is certain. They agreed with the Unitarians in rejecting the doctrine of the Athanasian Trinity; and their mode of attacking this doctrine was similar to that adopted by the Unitarians. But at this point the agreement ceased; and all beyond, as far as the Quakers were concerned, was neither more nor less than the doctrine of Sabellius, expressed in the peculiar phraseology of Quakerism.

The Conventicle Act, which had been passed in 1664, was to remain in force only three years after the next ensuing parliament; and this term had now expired. But in 1669, it was renewed, without any limitation as to time; and two stringent clauses were introduced, the object of which was to guard against an evasion of its penalties. This Act, no doubt, had some effect in preventing the diffusion of Unitarianism from the pulpit; but the press teemed with Unitarian publications, which led Andrew Marvel to pen the following passage. "The next thing is more directly levell'd at J. O. for having in some later book used those words, 'We cannot conform to Arminianism or Socinianism on the one hand, or Popery on the other.' What the Answerer meant by those words, I concern not my self. Onely I cannot but say, That there is a very great neglect somewhere, wheresoever the inspection of books is lodged, that at least the *Socinian* books are tole-

* Mon. Rep. Vol. XII. p. 481.

rated, and sell as openly as the Bible."* Whether this was written in jest, or in earnest,† the fact itself is a very significant one, and was so considered by the orthodox Dissenters of the time; for *Dr. John Owen*, one of the leaders among the Independents, and *the Rev. John Tombes, B. D.*, whom *Wood* calls "the Coryphæus of the Anabaptists," a man of great learning, and one of the most able disputants of that day,‡ both attacked the Unitarians in the year 1669. The work of the former was entitled, "A Brief Declaration and Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity. London, 1669," 12mo.; and that of the latter, "Emanuel, or God-man: A Treatise wherein the Doctrine of the first Nicene and Chalcedon Councils, concerning the Two Nativities of Christ, is asserted against the lately vented Socinian Doctrine. London, 1669," 8vo.

In 1673, an Act was passed, for preventing the dangers, which might happen from Popish recusants. It was called *the Test Act*; and enacted, among other things, That every person who should be admitted into any office, civil or military, or receive any pay, by reason of any patent or grant, or have command or place of trust, or be admitted into any service in the Royal household, should receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, (within three months after his admittance,) in some public

* *The Rehearsal Transpos'd: or, Animadversions upon a late Book, entituled, "A Preface, shewing what Grounds there are of Fears and Jealousies of Popery."* London, 1672, 12mo., p. 172.

† *Mon. Rep.* Vol. V. p. 504; cf. p. 26.

‡ *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 559.

Church, upon some Lord's-day, immediately after divine service and sermon: any person taking office without this qualification, and being thereon lawfully convicted, was disabled from suing or using any action in law, from being guardian of any child, or executor, or capable of any legacy, or deed of gift, and forfeited the sum of five hundred pounds, to be recovered by him, or them, that should sue for the same. This law was more particularly intended (such at least was the pretext for passing it) to exclude Roman Catholics from offices of trust; and on that account, the Protestant Dissenters of those days were not unfavourable to it, trusting to some subsequent measure of relief, by which they might themselves be protected from its operation.* But they paid dearly for their acquiescence; for the Test Act continued in force till the reign of Wm. IV., and was frequently put into operation against themselves. Thus, in the course of ten years, laws were made, which it has required more than a century and a half to expunge from the Statute-book; and the Act of Uniformity, which has now become a mere dead letter, still remains a blot and a disgrace upon English legislation. The only excuse, which can be made for the conduct of the Dissenters, as regards the Test Act, is, that they understood the principles of religious liberty little better than their oppressors. In that age, indeed, Christians of all denominations were more or less intolerant of each other's opinions; and it has only been by slow and imperceptible degrees, and by a severe, but salutary discipline, that any of them have learnt

* *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. IV. pp. 458, 459.

to respect and encourage in others the exercise of that freedom of thought, which they are so eager to claim for themselves.

That there were individuals, however, even in those times, who well understood, and nobly advocated the principles of religious liberty, is a fact which must not be overlooked. Such was JOHN MILTON, who taught, that the power exercised by Popes, Councils, Bishops and Presbyters, is to be classed among the rankest, and most odious of tyrannies; and in whose view all the impositions of Ordinances, and Ceremonies, and Doctrines, are an unwarrantable invasion of the liberty with which Christ has made us free. This able champion of Christian truth, who had filled the office of Secretary to Cromwell, and to whose advice and influence some of the redeeming acts, which marked the Protectorate of that extraordinary man may not unreasonably be attributed, died, in very reduced circumstances, at Bunhill, near London, in the year after the passing of the Test Act, and in the sixty-seventh of his own age. He left behind him "A Treatise on Christian Doctrine," which, after lying about a century and a half amidst a mass of other papers, in one of the government offices, was lately brought to light; and in which he has unreservedly avowed himself an Antitrinitarian, and with great force of argument defended the strict, and proper unity of God.*

In those times of bigotry and intolerance, there were not a few men, of first-rate eminence in literature, who became utterly weary of the evils of secta-

* Vide *Art.* 345.

rianism; and, leaving the Episcopalians and Nonconformists to settle their disputes among themselves, withdrew altogether from the communion of religious bodies, and worshiped God in the secrecy of their own hearts. This was the case with Milton, of whom Dr. Johnson says,* “He has not associated himself with any denomination of Protestants: we know rather what he was not, than what he was. He was not of the Church of Rome: he was not of the Church of England.—Milton grew old without any visible worship. In the distribution of his hours, there was no hour of prayer.—His studies and meditations were an habitual prayer.” The illustrious ALGERNON SIDNEY was an enemy, like Milton, to all religious establishments; and like him, too, kept aloof from all Christian societies. He appears also to have resembled Milton in his doctrinal views, as far, at least, as regards the rejection of the Trinity. “I have reason to believe,” says the late George Dyer, “that the man whose writings have served the cause of liberty more than [those of] any writer in this country, was an Unitarian Christian, I mean the injured, immortal Sidney.—Though he was no friend to religious establishments, nor even to public worship, conceiving ‘religion to be a kind of divine philosophy in the soul;’ yet it is evident, from several parts of his Discourses on Government, that he believed Christianity.”†

During the latter years of the reign of Charles

* *Life of Milton, Works.* London, 1820. Vol. IX. pp. 138, 139.

† *An Inquiry into the Nature of Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, &c.*, 2nd Ed., by *George Dyer, A.B.*, late of Emanuel College, Cambridge. Appendix ii. p. 400. See also Chap. vii. pp. 109, 110.

II., many Arian and Socinian works were published in Holland, copies of which were industriously dispersed in England. They were written, for the most part, by men of learning, who, on the expulsion of the Polish Socinians from their native country, had taken refuge in Holland. None was more zealous in this way than Christopher Sandius the younger, whose views were decidedly Arian, and who confidently appealed to the voice of Christian antiquity, as favouring those views. The Socinians paid but little regard to the testimony of ancient Christian writers. Their appeal was generally made to Scripture and reason; and they had some controversies with the Arians, who blamed them for depreciating the testimony of the early fathers, which, as they contended, was decidedly in favour of Arianism. There were also, at this time, in England, many Divines belonging to the Established Church, who, in defending the doctrine of the Trinity, had felt themselves constrained to admit, that the Ante-Nicene Fathers had sometimes expressed themselves incautiously, of which admission the opponents of that doctrine were disposed to take advantage. Under these circumstances, the Rev. George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, composed his "*Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*," which, as his biographer informs us,* was finished in the year 1680: but as the publication of it was delayed, from several unavoidable causes, till 1685, our further notice of it must be deferred, till we come to the reign of James II.

* *Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull*, Sect. I. p. 280, 2nd Ed.

In 1680, we also find *the Rev. George Ashwell*, B. D., complaining that the books of the Socinians were everywhere dispersed, and read with avidity by young students, in spite of the Canon of 1640; that some of them were translated into English; and that there were not a few Clergymen, who, both in their sermons and their published writings, too plainly shewed their partiality for the Socinian doctrines. Seeing this, he tells his patron, the Bishop of Lincoln, that he has been led to publish a Dissertation "*De Socino et Socinianismo*." In this work, which was intended to form part of a much larger one, to be entitled "*De Judice Controversiarum, et Catholicæ Veritatis Regula*," he traces the origin of Socinianism; gives an account of its leading tenets, and the arguments by which they are supported; and enters into a brief examination and exposurè of their alleged unsoundness. The work is partly historical, and partly polemical. It commences with a lengthened biographical notice of Lælius and Faustus Socinus, and does ample justice to the genius, learning and character of both, but more particularly of the latter, the account of whom is summed up in the following terms. "Such and so great was the author and patron of this sect, in whom all those qualities, which excite the admiration, and attract the regard of men, were united; so that he charmed, as it were, by a kind of fascination, all with whom he conversed, and left on the minds of all strong impressions of admiration and love. He so excelled in the loftiness of his genius, and the suavity of his disposition; such was the strength of his reasoning, and the force of his elo-

quence; so signal were the virtues which he displayed in the sight of all, and which he either possessed, or counterfeited in an extraordinary degree; so great were his natural endowments, and so exemplary was his life; that he appeared formed, as it were, to captivate the affections of mankind; nor is it any matter of surprise, that he misled great numbers, and drew them over to his own party. What Augustin formerly said of Faustus the Manichæan, may therefore not unsuitably or improperly be applied to Faustus Socinus, that he was ‘*Magnus Diaboli Laqueus*,’ the Devil’s great noose, or snare.”*

It is a remarkable fact, and one which cannot be overlooked in the present connexion, that England, in which so many tyrannical laws had recently been enacted against every species of Nonconformity, should at this very time have been almost the only country of Europe, in which the Calvinists, who had fled from persecution in France and Poland, could find an asylum; and that the individual to whom they were indebted, above all others, for the hospitality which they experienced, should himself have been a Unitarian. But so it was. The persecuted French Protestants came over into England in great numbers, in the years 1680 and 1681; and Mr. Firmin was among the most active in promoting a subscription for them. He was of opinion, that, of all objects of charity, those who suffered for con-

* *De Socino et Socinianismo Dissertatio*: Authore *Geo. Ashwello*, S. S. Th. Bacc. et Eccles. Anglican. Presbytero. Oxon. 1680. 8vo. p. 18, § 14.

science sake had the strongest claims upon the sympathy of their Christian brethren. It was indifferent to him, whether the opinions of such persons coincided with his own, or not. If they acted up to their convictions, and gave such proofs of their sincerity as could not be questioned, they always found in him a warm and generous friend.

On the arrival of these unfortunate victims of persecution in the English metropolis, Mr. Firmin's first care was, how to provide house-room for such multitudes, in a city, where lodgings were as costly as provisions. He suggested, that they might be accommodated in the Pest-house, a large building which had been used in the time of the Plague, but was then fortunately unoccupied. The suggestion was at once adopted by the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen. In this spacious and commodious building, some hundreds of these innocent sufferers found shelter, and a home; and Mr. Firmin was made the almoner of the British public, in relieving their wants, and providing them with food, clothing, fuel, and suitable employment. In 1682, the same benevolent individual was mainly instrumental in establishing a linen manufacture for them at Ipswich, his native town; and for some time he paid the rent of the Meeting-house, in which they were accustomed to assemble for public worship. Briefs were granted for their relief by Charles II., in 1681; by James II., in 1686 and 1687; and by William III., in 1693: and each time, the larger portion of the money, collected under these briefs, passed through the hands of Mr. Firmin, so great was the opinion

of his judgment, and so general the confidence reposed in his integrity.*

Nor was he less active in procuring relief for the members of the Reformed Churches of Poland, when they were driven into exile, and many of them sought refuge in England. These very persons had combined with the Catholics some years before, in order to effect the expulsion of the Unitarians from the Polish territories; a catastrophe which might easily have been averted, had any of the Protestant Deputies pleaded their cause in the Diet. But religious prejudice restrained them from doing this simple act of justice; and in little more than twenty years afterwards, the Protestant party, weakened by the loss of the Unitarian interest, fell an easy prey to the machinations of the Jesuits.† Yet, when it came to their turn to be the sufferers, and they were condemned to share the same fate as the Unitarians, Mr. Firmin exerted himself with his accustomed liberality on their behalf, and in 1681 assisted in procuring contributions for their relief.‡ The character of Mr. Firmin, as we have already seen, was not without its weak points; but there are few instances of the exercise of a truly Christian spirit upon record, at all comparable with this. Amidst wide diversities of religious opinion, he neither forgot the apostolic precept,§ nor failed to act upon it; “not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing.”

* The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, pp. 51—54.

† Vide *Art.* 163.

‡ Life of T. Firmin, pp. 25, 26.

§ 1 Pet. iii. 8, 9.

It was well known, before the accession of James II., that he was a member of the Catholic Church ; and as a bill had been more than once brought into Parliament, though not passed into a law, for the purpose of excluding him from the succession to the throne, on the ground of his religious opinions, all parties were desirous of learning, on what principles the government of the country was to be conducted. At the first meeting of the Privy Council, he told the members, that “ as he would never depart from any branch of the prerogative, so he would not invade any man’s property, but would preserve the government, as by law established, in Church and State.”* This declaration was regarded as one of good omen by the clergy: but it remained to be seen, whether it would be fulfilled, or broken.

On the 27th of May, 1685, the Parliament presented an address to the King, requesting him to take measures for putting into execution the penal laws against the Dissenters. This led to a revival of the cruel and exterminating policy of the preceding reign ; and the persecution of the Dissenters was carried on with the utmost rigour, and without the slightest abatement, during the remainder of that year, and the whole of the next.† For a time the government and the clergy acted together with wonderful harmony: but when it was found, that Catholics only were preferred to posts of honour in the state, and that the object of the King, in his attempts to put down the Dissenters, was to pave the way for the destruction of the Established

* *Neal’s Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. IV. p. 536.

† P. 544.

Church, the eyes of the clergy were opened, and they soon began to sound the alarm. They were prohibited from preaching against Popery, because it was the King's religion; but they began to write against it very freely, and tried to stimulate the Dissenters to do the same. But a request of this nature came with a very ill grace from a party, who had been labouring for years, with all the power of the government and the Church on their side, to compass the destruction of the Dissenters. Besides, some hopes of liberty had been held out to the Dissenters by the King; and as they had nothing to lose in the struggle between him and the Church, they determined to remain passive.

The Quakers, in their homely style of address, had said to James, on his accession,—“ We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of England, no more than we; therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing we wish thee all manner of happiness.”* The time had now arrived, when the King seemed disposed to act upon this advice; and if he had pursued his object by legal and constitutional means, the Dissenters would have had reason to be grateful to him. But instead of this, he published a Declaration of Indulgence on his own responsibility; and the Dissenters, though thankful for the liberty thus offered them, disapproved of the dispensing power assumed by the King in granting it. This disapprobation was signified

* Pp. 536, 537.

to him through some of his courtiers, on which he is said to have complained of the Dissenters, as a perverse set of men, whom it was impossible to please. Some few Dissenters, from an excess of joy at the unexpected recovery of their liberty, were glad to accept it upon any terms; and the boon was the more welcome to others, because the same hand which bestowed it was, at the same time, employed in humbling the Church party, who had so cruelly persecuted them. But the more influential Dissenters, acting from higher and more disinterested motives, reluctantly accepted, and would, if they could, have declined the treacherous gift.* Several well-written pamphlets were printed and dispersed, to convince the nation, that the King's object, in issuing a Declaration of Indulgence, was to give power to the Catholics, under the specious pretext of favouring the Dissenters. Mr. Firmin, who saw through the flimsy disguise, was indefatigable in promoting the circulation of these pamphlets; and expended large sums of money in getting them printed, and placed in the hands of the people.†

At length, when James had stretched the prerogative beyond all legitimate bounds, it was determined, by a few patriotic individuals, to call in foreign aid, for the purpose of ridding the nation of his odious tyranny. The Earls of Devonshire and Danby, Lord Delamere, Sir Scroop Howe, John D'Arcy, Esq., and a few other persons of rank and influence in Derbyshire, and the neighbouring coun-

* *Bp. Burnet's Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. pp. 701—703. 714. 736.

† *Life of T. Firmin*, pp. 61, 62.

ties, are said to have taken the lead in this movement.* The individual, upon whom they fixed their hopes, was William, Prince of Orange, who, from his entrance into public life, had been immersed in enterprises and political intrigues. This Prince now clearly saw, that James had lost the affection of his subjects. He obtained regular information of the discontents, which prevailed throughout the kingdom; and by appearing to discourage, still further increased them, hoping at length to dispossess James of the crown, and place it upon his own brow. His claims were strengthened by the matrimonial union which he had formed with the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of James; and it was a fortunate circumstance for him, that the wishes of the principal nobility and gentry coincided with the projects of his own ambition.† When this scheme was made known to some of the leading citizens of London, Mr. Firmin entered into it with great cordiality.‡ He not only approved of it, but did all in his power to forward the enterprise; and when it was brought to a successful issue, no one rejoiced more than he at that Revolution, which freed England for ever from the arbitrary sway of the Stuart family, and gave to the nation a constitutional monarch, in the person of William III.

Mr. Firmin appears to have been too actively engaged in politics, during the short reign of James II., to pay much attention to the spread of Unita-

* *Deering's History of Nottingham*, p. 260. *Bishop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish*.

† *Bp. Burnet's Hist. of his own Time*, A. D. 1688, *passim*.

‡ *Life of Firmin*, p. 62.

rianism. He caused, however, to be written, "A Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Soci-nians," which was first printed in the year 1687, 8vo.; and of which a second edition, in 4to., appeared in 1691.* It was without any author's or printer's name; but tradition assigns the authorship to the Rev. Stephen Nye, a Clergyman of the Church of England.† It is written in the epistolary form; and the number of Letters is four. Each Letter, except the first, has a distinct title-page, with its own scriptural motto; and subjoined to the whole is an additional Letter, which is introduced to the notice of the reader by the following announcement. "The Publisher to whom the foregoing Letters were written, having left them some time with a Gentleman, a Person of excellent Learning and Worth; they were returned to him with this following Letter." The name of the "gentleman" here alluded to is unknown: but the "friend," to whom the first four Letters were addressed, was Mr. Firmin.

Although public attention had been in some measure withdrawn from religious controversy, and fixed upon politics, the efforts of John Biddle and William Penn had not been thrown away; and men's minds were opened to some of the grosser delusions of reputed orthodoxy. Many who could not go the same length as Biddle, and who hesitated

* An Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion. London, 1698. 8vo. p. 52. The author of this "Account" mentions 1689 as the year in which the "Brief History" was written; but as it is repeatedly said, in the first edition, to have been "printed in the year 1687," it would seem that "1689" is an error of the press for 1687.

† Vide *Rodd's Catalogue of Books in Theology, Eccles. Hist., and Canon Law.* Lond. 1848. No. 13,934.

to embrace Unitarianism in its naked simplicity, yet agreed with Penn in discarding the Athanasian Creed, and contented themselves with a belief in a Modal Trinity. Not a few, who continued outwardly to conform to the Church of England, would have been glad to promote a revision of its Liturgy and Articles; and even among its dignitaries there were those, to whom a moderate reform would not have been unpalatable, and who would have rejoiced to see the Creed of St. Athanasius excluded from the Book of Common Prayer. *Mr. Whiston*, in the *Memoirs of his own Life and Writings*,* tells us, that when he and another friend, in 1687, remonstrated with Dr. Davies, of Haidon, for reading the Athanasian Creed, of which he was known to be no admirer, the Doctor said, in excuse, that he read it only as he would read Greek to his English congregation; but Mr. Whiston adds, that they so satisfied him of the impropriety of reading it at all, that he promised to read it no more.

The only work of importance, on the Trinitarian side of the controversy, which made its appearance during the reign of James II., was Bull's "*Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*." The manuscript, as was before stated, was finished in 1680; but, from various causes, it remained unpublished till five years after that time. Some of the author's friends, who had taken the alarm at the writings of Sandius being allowed to circulate so freely among the youth, who were studying for the Church, without anything on the other side of the question, to operate as an antidote, urged Mr. Bull to make the result of his learned

* Pt. i. p. 25.

labours public; and their representations induced him to revise his work for the press, and give it the form which it now bears. After offering it successively to three different booksellers, none of them would encounter the risk of publishing it; and the author, who had a large family, was under the necessity of laying it aside, and abandoning, for a time, all idea of its publication. A friend, hearing this, prevailed upon him to place his manuscript in the hands of Dr. Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; and the Professor having read it over with great care, was so much pleased with it, that he recommended the work to the patronage of Dr. Fell, who cheerfully took upon himself the responsibility of its publication.* In this work, the author endeavours to prove, against the Arians and Socinians, from the testimony of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, that the divinity of the Son, and that of the Holy Spirit were doctrines well known, and approved by the Christians of the first three centuries; and that the order of the three persons of the Trinity was such, that the Son, although he had the same essence with the Father, was inferior to him, and dependent on him, as far as regards his dignity and origin. According to Mr. Nelson, who will not be suspected of misrepresenting any opinion of Bishop Bull's, his Lordship has laid down and proved the following positions. "1. That decree of the Nicene Council, by which it is declared, that the Son of God is *God of God* [*θεός ἐκ θεοῦ*] is generally approved of by the Catholic doctors, both by

* *Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull*. Lond. 1714, 2nd. PA. Part. 6th, pp. 280—284.

them that lived before, and them that lived after that Council: for they all with one consent have taught, that the divine nature and perfections do agree to the Father and the Son, not *collaterally* or *coördinately*, but *subordinately*: that is, that the Son hath indeed the same nature in common with the Father, but hath it *communicated* from the Father, so as the Father alone hath that divine nature *from himself*, or from no other besides, but the Son *from the Father*; and consequently, that the Father is the fountain, original and principle of the Divinity, which is in the Son. 2. The Catholick writers, both they that were before, and they that were after the Council of Nice, have unanimously declared God the Father to be greater than the Son, even according to his Divinity: yet this not by nature, or by any essential perfection, which is in the Father, and is wanting in the Son; but only by *fatherhood*, or his being the author and original; forasmuch as the Son is from the Father, not the Father from the Son. 3. The doctrine of the subordination of the Son to the Father, as to his *origination* and *principiation*, the ancients thought to be most useful, and even altogether necessary to be known and believed, that by this means the Godhead of the Son, might be so asserted, as that the *unity* of God, nevertheless, and the *divine monarchy* might still be preserved inviolate. Forasmuch as notwithstanding the *name* and *nature* are common to two, that is, to the Father and the Son, yet because one is the principle of the other, from whom he is propagated, and that by internal not external production; it thence followeth, That God may rightly be said to be but one God. And

the same ancients believed moreover, that the very same reason did hold likewise as to the Godhead of the Holy Ghost."* From these positions, however, as *Walchius* has observed,† and as learned men have long since, in his estimation, satisfactorily proved, the inferences are unavoidable, that the Father and the Son are not coëqual, and that the Son, on account of his dependance, is destitute of a true and common divinity with the Father. Replies were published to the "Defensio Fidei Nicænæ," by Gilbert Clerke, and an anonymous writer in the third Volume of Unitarian Tracts, in 1695; by Samuel Crellius, under the feigned name of *Lucas Mellierus*, in 1697; and by Dr. Daniel Whitby, in 1718. But the consideration of these belongs to a later period.

William III. met with few impediments in his way to the English throne: but he was no sooner in possession of it, than difficulties began to present themselves to him on every side. He found it no easy matter to govern a people so untractable, in comparison with his own countrymen, as the English, who were disposed to scrutinize the measures of their rulers before they obeyed them. Besides, though he was generally recognized as King in England, there was some hesitation, on the part of the Scotch and Irish, in admitting his claims. Ireland, indeed, he had to conquer, before he could be called its monarch. The only province disposed

* Sect. 57, pp. 314—316.

† Bibl. Theol. Sel., Tom. I. p. 970.

to acknowledge his authority was Ulster. The Catholics almost universally took up arms against him ; and many of the Protestants left the kingdom, and came over to England, as the only means of escaping the indignities and cruelties, to which they were exposed. Among these were persons of all ranks, and of both sexes ; and Mr. Firmin, of whose disinterested exertions on behalf of the Polish and French Protestants honourable mention has already been made, felt himself called upon to assist them in their distress. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to dispense to them the charitable contributions made on their behalf : and the large funds, collected on this occasion, were left almost entirely at his disposal. The Clergymen, Churchwardens, and others, who superintended the collections in the different parishes, were required to give an account, by letter, to Mr. Firmin, of the sums which they had raised, and paid into the hands of the Archdeacons ; so that, for a long time, hundreds of letters came to him on post days. The donations also of the King and Queen were solicited, and received by him. The sum total, which passed through his hands, was £56,566. 7s. 6d. ; and he sometimes attended the distribution from morning till evening, without allowing himself any interval for rest or meals. But in addition to all this, he was enabled, by the assistance of liberal friends, to give private sums to individuals, whose rank prevented them from seeking relief from the general fund, or whose wants required more than that fund, in justice to the other recipients, could yield : and when Ireland was reduced, and the Protestants

could return in safety to their own homes, he made fresh efforts to supply them with what was necessary for their journey, and obtained large sums from benevolent individuals for this purpose.

Mr. Firmin's disinterested exertions on this occasion were beyond all praise; and it must have been peculiarly gratifying to him to receive, as he did, the following acknowledgment of his services, bearing the signatures of some of the most eminent dignitaries of the Irish Church.*

“ To Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN.

“ Sir,—Being occasionally met together at Dublin, on a public account; and often discoursing of the great relief, which the Protestants of this kingdom found among their brethren in England, in the time of our late miseries: we cannot treat that subject without as frequent mention of your name, who so cheerfully and entirely devoted yourself to that ministry. We consider, with all thankfulness, how much the public charity was improved by your industry; and we are witnesses of your indefatigable pains and faithfulness in the distribution; by which many thousands were preserved from perishing. We know also, that some who refused to take out of the common stock, as being desirous to cut off occasion of murmurs, were however, by your mediation, comfortably subsisted by private benevolences. We doubt not, but you and they have the earnest of your reward in the peace of your own minds; which, we pray God to fill with comforts, and *illu-*

* Life of T. Firmin, pp. 67, 68.

minate with his truths; making his grace to abound in them, who have abounded in their charity to others. And we intreat, that you, and all such as you know to have had their parts in this service, would believe, that we shall ever retain a grateful remembrance of it; as some testimony whereof, we desire you, for your self in particular, to receive this acknowledgment of your kindness to our brethren, and therein to

Your much obliged,
and most humble Servants,

Jo. Tuam,	Edw. Cork and Ross,
W. Clonfert,	N. Waterford,
Bar. Fernleigh,	R. Clogher,
S. Elpin,	W. Raphoe."

Soon after the Revolution, measures were devised for relieving the Nonconformists; but they were opposed, and partially defeated by the vigilance and bigotry of the Church party. "In Parliament," says Mr. Locke, writing to his friend Limborch, March 12th, 1689, "the subject of Toleration is now discussed under two forms, *comprehension* and *indulgence*. By the first it is proposed to enlarge the bounds of the Church, so that, by the abolition of some ceremonies, many may be induced to conform. By the other is designed, the toleration of those, who are either unwilling, or unable to unite with the Church of England, even on the proposed conditions. How liberal or rigid these will be, I know not. I however suspect, that the Episcopal Clergy are not very favourable to these projects, and others in agitation. Whether they thus consult the public

interest, or their own, I will not decide."* The former of the two plans alluded to by Mr. Locke was soon transferred from the Parliament to the Bishops and clergy, at whose hands it met with the fate, which might have been anticipated. It came to nothing, as we shall see by and by. The latter plan was successfully carried out, though upon far too limited a scale; and forms a new era in the religious history of this country.

In the month of May, 1689, *the Toleration Act* passed, without much opposition; and this, under all the circumstances, was regarded as an important step in the right direction. In the language of Lord Mansfield, it rendered that legal which had before been illegal. By this Act, the dissenting mode of worship was permitted, and allowed. It was not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful. It was established. It was put under the protection, and not merely left at the connivance of the law.

Lord Somers, the framer of this Act, has been deemed a great statesman, and a profound lawyer; and in the wording of it, he vindicated his claim to both these characters. He was a man of enlightened views, and a friend to civil and religious liberty, but at the same time a zealous Churchman; and while he was desirous of providing as large a measure of toleration for the principal dissenting sects, as was at that time deemed compatible with the welfare of the state, he was anxious also to accom-

* Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke, and several of his Friends. Lond. 1708, 8vo. pp. 329, 330. Mon. Rep. Vol. XIII. p. 296.

pany it by such checks and precautions, that, if the safety of the Established Church should ever be threatened by the increasing numbers and influence of the Dissenters, they might feel, that there was still a power in the law, capable of vindicating the Church's claims to respect, and of defeating any attempts for its overthrow.*

After the passing of this important Act, Locke again thus writes to his friend, June 6th, 1689. "You have, no doubt, heard before this time, that toleration is at length established here by law; not, perhaps, to the extent which you, and such as you, sincere, candid and unambitious Christians would desire; but it is something to have proceeded thus far. By such a beginning, I trust that those foundations of peace and liberty are laid, on which the Church of Christ was at first established."†

Though much was done, by the Act of Toleration, to legalize some kinds of Dissent, that Act left the penalties against others in full force. It effected no change in the legal position of the Catholic, or the Unitarian. The sixteenth clause enacted, that it should not extend, or be construed to extend, to give any ease, benefit, or advantage, to any Papist, or Popish recusant, whatsoever; or to any person, who should deny, in his preaching or writing, the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, as it is declared in the Thirty-nine Articles; and the twelfth clause

* The Rights of Conscience asserted and defined in Reference to the modern Interpretation of the Toleration Act, in a Discourse delivered at Essex Street Chapel, Feb. 5, 1812, &c., by *Thomas Belsham*, pp. 6, 7, Note.

† Familiar Letters, p. 330. Mon. Rep. Vol. XIII. p. 297.

enacted, with a particular reference to the Quakers, that persons, who entertained conscientious scruples with regard to the taking of oaths, should be allowed the benefit of the Act, on making certain declarations, and subscribing a profession of their Christian belief in a given form of words.

Mr. Locke says, that this profession of belief would not have been imposed upon the Quakers, but for the officious interference of some of their own body, whose imprudence many others of eminence among them grievously lamented.* The clause, as it originally stood, extended the protection of the Act, in general terms, to "all such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, coëqual with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever: and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed will and word of God." But the four friends, who attended the House of Commons during the discussion of the Bill,—George Whitehead, John Vaughton, William Mead, and John Osgood,—being called in and examined, objected to the words "coëqual with the Father and the Son," applied to the Holy Spirit, as unscriptural. They objected also, on the same grounds, to the phrase "the revealed will and *word* of God," as descriptive of the Books of the Old and New Testament. Instead, therefore, of the declarative clause above mentioned, they proposed that the following confession of faith should be substituted. "I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father,

* Familiar Letters, pp. 330, 331. Mon. Rep. Vol. XIII. p. 297.
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and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration." • This form was drawn up by the "friends in waiting," at the request of Sir Thomas Clarges, who took it into the House, and moved, in the committee of the whole House, that it should be substituted for the one originally introduced into the Bill. The motion was agreed to; and thus the Quakers, through the indiscretion of a few leading members of their own body, were instrumental in forging chains, to bind themselves, and their posterity. Their historian, Gough, adds, "As a profession of faith is required of this society only, it evinces the truth of the conjecture, that this profession of faith was started, with a view to exclude the people called Quakers from a participation of the benefits of this Act."* But it is clear, on his own shewing, as well as from the express declaration of Mr. Locke, made within a fortnight of the passing of the Act, that this Creed was imposed upon the Quakers, with the sanction, if not at the suggestion, of their own representatives, who went to the House of Commons for the purpose of giving information to the Members, and watching the progress of the Bill. It would have been more dignified, and more honourable to the religious body which they represented, if they had made a protest against the imposition of any declaration of faith, and resolved to take their stand upon that protest.

• *A History of the People called Quakers, &c., by John Gough.* Dublin, 1789, 8vo. Vol. III. Bk. vi. Chap i. pp. 232—235.

As it was, the declaration incorporated into the Act gave great dissatisfaction to many of their own friends; and was not a faithful expression of the true Quaker doctrine of that period, as may be seen from the following declaration, which was deliberately framed, and presented to Parliament in 1693, on behalf of the members of the society, for the purpose of clearing them from the imputation of having adopted "some Socinian notions."

"Be it known to all, that we sincerely believe and confess, I. That Jesus of *Nazareth*, who was born of the Virgin *Mary*, is the true *Messiah*, the very Christ, the Son of the living God, to whom all the prophets gave witness: And that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits for the redemption of mankind, together with his laws, doctrine and ministry. II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive, and lives for ever in his divine eternal glory, dominion and power with the Father. III. That the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, are of divine authority, as being given by inspiration of God. IV. And that magistracy, or civil government, is *God's* ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil doers, and praise of them that do well."*

The "Socinian notions," with which the Quakers had been charged, probably related to the subjects of Justification and Magistracy. They could scarcely have had a reference to the doctrine of the

* *Seewel's History of the Quakers*, p. 649; apud Mon. Rep. Vol. VIII. pp. 645, 646.

Trinity, else this confession would have tended to strengthen, rather than remove the imputation ; for it contains not a single word inconsistent with the Unitarian opinions on that subject, and makes not the slightest allusion to the Holy Ghost, in the distinct personality of which the early Quakers certainly did not believe. Besides, it received the signatures of upwards of thirty members of the Society, among whom was George Whitehead, who had joined Penn in the controversy with Thomas Vincent, the Presbyterian Minister ; and therefore participated with him in the sentiments of "The Sandy Foundation shaken." Under these circumstances, it is scarcely credible, that George Whitehead was a consenting party to the declaration inserted in the Toleration Act. It is much more probable, that he was overruled, or outvoted by his brother deputies.

On the 13th of September, 1689, the King issued a Commission to ten Bishops, and twenty Divines, authorizing them to prepare such alterations in the Liturgy and Canons of the Church of England, as might be found expedient.* The Commissioners met accordingly in the Jerusalem Chamber, on the 10th of October ; and after the secession of the Bishops of Rochester and Winchester, and Doctors Jane and Aldrich, who objected to the Commission as illegal, the remaining twenty-six unanimously agreed to make several important recommendations. All the proceedings under this Commission are not known, the books containing the account of them

* The Life of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, by *Thomas Birch*, D.D., 2nd Ed. Lond. 1753, 8vo. pp. 166, 167.

having never been published ; but some of them are mentioned in *Birch's* Life of Archbishop Tillotson, from which *Bishop Watson* has extracted them, in his "Considerations on the Expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England."* With regard to the Athanasian Creed, which appears to have presented the greatest stumbling-block, it was at length decided, according to *Dr. Calamy*,† after much discussion, "that lest the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a rubric should be made, setting forth, or declaring the curses denounced therein, not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general." According to *Dr. Nichols*, this Creed being disliked by many persons on account of the damnatory clauses, it was proposed to leave it to the Minister's choice, either to use it, or to substitute the Apostles' Creed.‡

This judicious, and well-intended effort to rid the Book of Common Prayer of some of its most objectionable passages, was defeated by the Jacobitical faction, who wished to bring back James the Second; and by the high Churchmen, who declared against all alterations whatever.§ The recommendations of the Commissioners, however, were laid before the Convocation; and if they had received the appro-

* London, 1790. 8vo. pp. 33—36.

† Abridgement of the Life of Baxter, Vol. I. p. 451. See also *Birch's* Life of Archbishop Tillotson, pp. 177—181.

‡ Apparat. pp. 95, 96. *Birch's* Life of Archbishop Tillotson, pp. 174—176.

§ Considerations on the Expediency of revising the Liturgy, &c. p. 37.

bation of that body, they were then to have been submitted to the consideration of Parliament, whose sanction they would no doubt have obtained.

The Convocation met on the 21st of November;* but before the two Houses proceeded to business, it was discovered, that the Commission, issued by the King, was defective, because the Great Seal was not affixed to it.† This omission was soon supplied: but the Convocation was composed of such discordant elements, that, after much wrangling between the two Houses, without advancing a single step in the business for which they were called together, it was adjourned from the 13th of December, 1689, to the 24th of January, 1690, and at last dissolved, with the Parliament.‡ The pacific intentions of the King were frustrated; and so ended the last attempt to reform the Church of England.

While the Convocation was sitting, the Prolocutor attended the President and Bishops on the 11th of December, 1689; and in the name of the Lower House, represented to their Lordships, "that there were several books of very dangerous consequence to the Christian religion, and the Church of England, particularly 'Notes upon Athanasius's Creed,' and 'Two Letters' relating to the present Convocation, newly come abroad." In the name of the Lower House, he requested their Lordships to inform him, "in what way, and how far safely, without incurring the penalty of the statute of 25 Hen. VIII., the Convocation might proceed in preventing the

* Life of Tillotson, p. 184.

† P. 187.

‡ Pp. 187—192.

publishing the like scandalous books for the future, and inflicting the censures of the Church, according to the Canons provided in that behalf, upon the authors of them." On the 13th of the same month, the Prolocutor informed the House, "that the President had declared his sense of the ill consequence of those books that were sent up from that House to their Lordships; and that, upon inquiry, he could not receive any satisfaction how far the Convocation might proceed in that affair; but that he would, as far as lay in him, take further order about it."*

The "Brief Notes upon Athanasius's Creed," which gave so much offence to the learned Convocation Divines, were embodied in a short tract, printed upon a single sheet of paper. They contained a searching examination into the logic and arithmetic of that renowned orthodox symbol, and exhibited great acuteness, and controversial dexterity; and the sensation which they produced must have been considerable, or the members of the Lower House of Convocation would not have made them (as they did) the subject of a specific complaint to the Upper House. They met with a favourable reception, however, from several learned men, both in London and in the country; and in conjunction with another tract, already mentioned, and entitled, "A Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians, in four Letters, written to a Friend," gave rise to the celebrated controversy, in which Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South took so prominent a part. But before these celebrated champions

* P. 191.

entered the lists, the public attention to the subject of the Trinity was kept alive by Dr. Arthur Bury, a Divine of the latitudinarian school, and Dr. John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford.

Dr. Bury published "The Naked Gospel, discovering, I. What was the Gospel which our Lord and his Apostles preached? II. What Additions and Alterations later Ages have made in it? III. What Advantages and Damages have thereupon ensued. Part I. Of Faith." 4to. This work professes, in the title-page, to be written "By a true Son of the Church of England;" "and yet," says *Wood*,* "he expressly denies the doctrine of the Church of England." Dr. Bury argues, that Christians had bewildered themselves by their long disputes respecting the Trinity, and the two natures, and two wills of Christ; whence the Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monophysites, Monothelites, and many other sects, whose differences arose more from the novel and ambiguous phrasology employed, when speaking, or writing upon theological subjects, than from any other cause. Alluding to the person of Christ, he says, "When the great question concerning the eternity of his godhead first embroiled the world, the Emperor Constantine, by the most esteemed of his Bishops sent to the heads of the contending parties an every way gracious letter, perswading each of them to silence: wherein we find many sayings for quieting the dispute, more worth than all that since hath been written for deciding it. We shall take notice of

* *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 950.

three.—He condemneth it as a *silly* question, fitter for fools or children, than Priests or wise men. And this he presseth no less than eight or nine times. How justly, we may discover in three particulars. 1. It is impertinent to our Lord's design. 2. It is fruitless to the contemplators own purpose. 3. It is dangerous.* These three particulars he discusses in as many chapters;† and the result of the whole he sums up in the following words. "The long and mischievous controversy was at last settled by Theodosius; who having received his instructions and baptism from a Consubstantialist, required all his subjects to conform to 'That religion, which Peter, the prince of the Apostles, from the beginning had delivered to the Romans, and which at that time Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, held: and that Church only should be esteemed Catholick, which worshipped the divine Trinity with equal honour, and those who held the other, should be called *hereticks*, made infamous and punished.'—This we may therefore call *settling* the controversy, because thenceforth all succeeding Emperors and Bishops wrote after this copy; and both the parties have ever worn those titles, which the Emperor by his imperial power (as the unquestionable fountain of honor) was pleased to bestow upon them.—Behold now the ground, on which one of our fundamental articles of faith is built! Behold the justice of that plea, which from such a possession would prescribe to our belief! We have traced it from its spring, with no worse

* The Naked Gospel, Chap. vii. p. 40.

† Chap. vii—ix.

intent than to appeal from the great Theodosius, who put it above dispute, to the greater Constantin, who put it below dispute; and to silence the clamour of Heresy against one party, by silencing the whole Controversie in both.”* In the Preface, Dr. Bury insinuates, that the misunderstandings among Christians, combined with a want of charity, which led them to condemn and persecute each other, induced Mahomet, when framing his new religion, to reject those corruptions which were too gross to be maintained with any appearance of reason. “Whether Mahomet or Christian Doctors,” says he, “have more corrupted the Gospel, is not so plain by the light of Scripture, as it is by that of experience, that the latter gave occasion, encouragement, and advantage to the former. For when by nice and hot disputes (especially concerning the second and third persons of the Trinity) the minds of the whole people had been long confounded—; when by mutual uncharitableness either party persecuted the other both with spiritual and temporal weapons; when thus all mens minds were perplexed with doubts, and scared with threats, so that they knew not What they were to believe, and thereby so diverted from true piety, that they cared not How they lived: then was there a tempting opportunity offered to the impostor, and he laid hold on it, to set up himself for a reformer of such corruptions, as were both too gross to be justified, and too visible to be denied.”

For these, and other offensive opinions and statements, advanced in his work, called “The Naked

* Chap. ix. pp. 56, 57.

Gospel," Dr. Bury was deprived of the rectorship of Lincoln College, by Dr. Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter. The particulars of this Deprivation are given, in "An Account of the Proceedings of the Right Reverend Father in God, Jonathan, Lord Bishop of Exeter, in his late Visitation of Exeter College, in Oxford. Oxf. Printed at the Theatre, 1690," 4to. From this account it appears, that the Bishop of Exeter "being willing to reform the College, not only by legal, but unexceptionable methods, appointed the 16th of June, 1690, for the day of his Solemn and General Visitation, to be held in the Chapel; and served the College with a previous citation" for that purpose. But when the Bishop went to the Chapel, where the Rector and Fellows had been cited to appear, he found the doors designedly shut against him. Nine of the Fellows attended the Bishop, and acknowledged his visitatorial power: but the Rector, and some of the Fellows, protested against it. On this, the Visitor applied, by petition, to the King and Queen in council; but the Rector expressed his determination not to bind himself to an acquiescence in their decision. The Lords of the Privy Council, therefore, referred the Visitor to the usual course of law. On this he took counsel's opinion, which being favourable to his claims, he resolved, after considerable opposition on the part of Dr. Bury, to hold the proposed Visitation. The Articles of Inquiry against the Rector, and protesting Fellows, were seven in number; and the first was as follows. "That the Rector was the reputed author of a book called 'The Naked Gospel;' that he sat at St. Athanasius's

Creed in the Chappel; that he was generally suspected of Heresy; and did not read prayers at the Chappel as often as by Statute he was oblig'd."* Litchfield, the printer of "The Naked Gospel," was called into court, and attested, upon oath, that he received the manuscript of that work from the hands of Dr. Bury; and was authorized by him, in his capacity of Pro-Vice-Chancellor, to print it. His Lordship being satisfied, that this, and other charges against him were substantiated, and that it was not consistent with the interests of the College, the reputation of the University, or the pious design of the founder, to permit the Rector any longer to retain his station in the College and University, found himself under the necessity of depriving him; which he resolved to do, in the way directed by the Statutes. The Bishop then, in his capacity as Ordinary, gave the Rector seven days, after monition, for his removal; and in case of further contumacy, pronounced him Excommunicate.† The sentence of deprivation, which occupies the last page of the "Account,"‡ is in Latin. It bears the signature, J. Exon; and is attested by Ezra Cleaveland, Guil. Reade, John Harris, and John Bagwell, four Masters of Arts, out of the seven Senior Scholars of Exeter College, Oxford.

The ejection of Dr. Bury was speedily followed by other annoyances from certain Masters in the University, who endeavoured to make his fall the greater, by petitioning the Vice-Chancellor to summon a Convocation, for the purpose of adopting

* Account of the Proceedings, &c. p. 32.

† Pp. 35—37.

‡ P. 58.

further measures of severity against him. In compliance with the prayer of the Masters' petition, the Vice-Chancellor summoned a Convocation, for the 18th of August; and the University passed a decree to the effect, that there were in the book, called "The Naked Gospel," certain impious and heretical propositions, repugnant to the chief mysteries of faith in the Catholic Church, and especially in the Church of England. A subsequent decree condemned the book to be publicly burnt in the School's Quadrangle.

These marks of censure, passed upon himself and his book by the authorities of the University, induced Dr. Bury to publish "An Apology for writing *the Naked Gospel*;" and before the end of the year the following works appeared in its defence:—"The Fire's continued at Oxford: or, the Decree of the Convocation for burning 'the Naked Gospel' considered: in a Letter to his Honour;" Aug. 30, 1690, 4to.; and "An Historical Vindication of 'the Naked Gospel,' recommended to the University of Oxford: printed in the year 1690," 4to. In the year following appeared, "An Answer to an Heretical Book called 'the Naked Gospel,' which was condemned and ordered to be publicly burnt by the Convocation of the University of Oxford, Aug. 16, 1690; with some Reflections on Dr. Bury's New Edition of that Book: to which is added a short History of Socinianism; by *William Nicholls, M.A.*, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Rt. Hon. Ralph Earl of Mountague. London, 1691," 4to. This "Answer" was dedicated to Lord Mountague; and the author gives the same

titles to the several Chapters, as had been given by Dr. Bury himself, in his "Naked Gospel." The New Edition of that work, to which the author of the "Answer" alludes, was only a re-issue of the unsold copies, with certain parts cancelled, and others altered, as appears from the following "Deposition of Leonard Litchfield, Printer, who printed an Heretical Book call'd 'the Naked Gospel,' published by Dr. Bury; since censur'd and burnt by the unanimous Decree of the University of Oxford."

"July 14, 1689:—which day appeared personally Leonard Litchfield, of the University of Oxford, printer, and deposeth,—That I printed a book entitled 'the Naked Gospel' for Dr. Bury, who paid me for my work, and told me, if any one question'd me for it, I should say that I had the Pro-Vice-Chancellor's leave, he being then Pro-Vice-Chancellor, as he told me, and at another time, told me he would bear me harmless. Not long after he sent for me, and said that it gave some distrust, and that he would make such alterations, as would take off the offence that it gave, after which he order'd me to print the sheets H, and I, and as I remember, the last half sheet, and told me that he had not disposed of many, and order'd me to print of these alterations 400 or more, the full number at first was 500. He also told me he intended to leave out the sheet K, and then to publish it with these alterations.

"*Eodem die* The same Mr. Litchfield made oath that he verily believed what he hath here wrote down and set his hand to, is true. } LEONARD LITCHFIELD."*

* An Account of the Proceedings, &c. p. 55.

In 1691 also appeared "An Answer to a Socinian Treatise called 'the Naked Gospel,' by *Thomas Long*, B.D., Prebendary of St. Peter's Exeter," 4to.

The substance of the "Historical Vindication of 'the Naked Gospel,'" was incorporated by M. Le Clerc into his *Life of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea*, which led to the suspicion, that he was himself the author of that "Vindication."* It contains an account of the Arian controversy, both before and after the Council of Nice; and as the facts connected with this controversy are not represented in exactly the same light by the author of it, as they are by Bishop Bull, in his "*Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*," that writer took some notice of the contents of the "Historical Vindication," in his "*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, &c. assertum contra M. Simonem Episcopium, aliosque*;" and in his "*Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio, &c. asserta atque evidenter demonstrata contra Danielem Zuickerum, Borussum, ejusque nuperos in Anglia Sectatores*."†

On the 11th of August, 1690, while the proceedings against Dr. Bury were pending at Oxford, *Dr. John Wallis*, Savilian Professor of Geometry in that University, and one of the oldest Divines then living in England, published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity briefly explained, in a Letter to a Friend," 4to. The substance of the Doctor's explanation is as follows. "The Scripture tells us plainly, 'There are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Holy

* *Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull*, Sect. 66, p. 374.

† Pp. 375, 376.

Ghost; and these three are one,' 1 John v. 7. And the form of baptism (Mat. xxviii. 19) is, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' That these are three, distinguished from each other, is manifest; and, that this distinction amongst themselves is wont to be called *Personality*: by which word, we mean, that distinction (whatever it be) whereby they are distinguished each from other, and thence called *Three Persons*. If the word *Person* do not please, we need not be fond of words, so the thing be agreed: yet it is a good word, and warranted by Scripture, Heb. i. 3, where the *Son* is called, 'the express image of his' Father's 'person.' If it be asked what these *Personalities* or *Characteristics* are, whereby each Person is distinguished from other; I think we have little more thereof in Scripture, than that the Father is said to *beget*; the Son, to be *begotten*; and the Holy Ghost, to *proceed*. If it be further asked, what is the full import of these words (which are but metaphorical), and what is the adequate meaning of them, I think we need not trouble ourselves about it.—'Tis hard for us (who understand so little of a Spirit) to determine (of what God is pleased to reveal) that it is impossible, or inconsistent with his essence, which essence we cannot understand. But what is it that is thus pretended to be impossible? 'Tis but this, that there be *Three Somewhats, which are but One God*: and these *Somewhats* we commonly call *Persons*." The Doctor labours to prove, that there is no inconsistency, or impossibility, in the doctrine of the Trinity thus explained, by shewing, what no man in his senses ever doubted, that "what in one

regard are *Three*, may in another regard be *One*." For this purpose, he compares the Tri-une God to a cube, with each of its dimensions, of length, breadth and height infinitely extended; and then proceeds to argue thus. "If in this (supposed) cube, (we suppose in order, not in time,) its first dimension, that of length, as A. B., and to that length be given an equal breadth (which is the true generation of a square) as C. D., which compleats the square basis of the cube; and to this basis (of length and breadth) be given (as by further procession from both) an equal height, E. F., which compleats the cube; and all this eternally (for such is the cube supposed to be), here is a fair resemblance (if we may *parvis componere magna*) of the Father (as the fountain or original); of the Son (as generated of him from all eternity); and of the Holy Ghost (as eternally proceeding from both): and all this without any inconsistency. This *longum, latum, profundum*, (long, broad and tall,) is but *one* cube; of three dimensions, and yet but one body: and this Father, Son and Holy Ghost; *three persons*, and yet but *One God*." Having exhausted this illustration, derived from a material body locally extended, the Doctor advances a step higher. He supposes that there are spiritual beings, such as angels and the souls of men, and that such *beings* are endued with *knowledge* to understand and invent, and with *power* to act; and having assumed this, he proceeds to make the following application of the supposition. "*To be* is not the same as *to know*, for that may be where this is not; and *to do* is (for the same reason) somewhat different from both those, for a man may

be and may *know* what he doth not *do*; yet 'tis one and the same soul (at least one and the same man) which *is*, and *knows*, and *does*. There is therefore no impossibility or inconsistency in it, that what in one regard are *Three*, may in another regard be *One*.—I might shew the same," says the good old man, "as to the *understanding*, *will* and *meaning*, which are all the same soul: and the known metaphysical terms of *unum*, *verum*, *bonum*, which are all but the same Ens. And many other instances of the like nature."

In reply to the Letter, of which the above is a brief outline, Dr. Wallis received one from an unknown correspondent, with the London post-mark, dated Sept. 23rd, 1690. This reply was signed "W. J.," the initial letters of the writer's name, *William Jane*.^{*} Its author commends the modest and conciliatory tone in which Dr. Wallis's Letter is written, and approves, on the whole, of his mode of arguing the subject; but expresses a doubt, whether it will satisfy the scholastic, Athanasian Trinitarian. The venerable Savilian Professor was ignorant from whom this reply came; but as its tone was respectful, he published it, together with "*A Second Letter concerning the Holy Trinity*, pursuant to the former, from the same Hand; occasioned by a Letter (there inserted) from one unknown: by *John Wallis, D.D.*" This was dated Sept. 27th, 1690. In the mean time, a Unitarian writer, feigning to be the friend, to whom the Doctor addressed his first Letter, published a tract, bearing the following title: "Dr. Wallis's Letter touching the

^{*} Biog. Brit. Vol. VI. Pt. i. p. 3683, Note O.

Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity answer'd by his Friend." This answer was afterwards inserted in the first volume of the Unitarian Tracts. The writer begins by saying, that, on the receipt of the Doctor's Letter, he communicated it to a neighbour, a reputed Unitarian, or Socinian, not doubting that he would be convinced by it; but that a conversation ensued, in the course of which his own faith in the doctrine of the Trinity began to give way, before the plausible arguments of his Unitarian neighbour. A report of this conversation forms the substance of the answer, at the close of which the writer requests the Doctor to take upon himself the trouble of writing another Letter, to dissipate the doubts raised by the above conversation. A Postscript follows, containing some remarks upon the Doctor's "Second Letter," on which also his friend asks for further explanation.

In about a month after the date of his "Second Letter," the Doctor wrote "An Explication and Vindication of the Athanasian Creed, in a *Third Letter*, pursuant of two former, concerning the Sacred Trinity, together with a Postscript in Answer to another Letter." The date of this "Third Letter" is Oct. 28th, 1690, and that of the Postscript, Nov. 15th, 1690. In the Letter, Dr. Wallis says, "When this third Letter was printed, and ready to come abroad, I stopped it a little for this Postscript; occasioned by a small treatise which came to my hands with this title, 'Dr. Wallis's Letter touching the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity answer'd by his Friend.' It seems," continues the Doctor, "I have more friends abroad than I am aware of. But, who

this friend is, or whether he be a friend, I do not know." He then proceeds very good humouredly to defend the statements and opinions advanced in his "First Letter."

At this stage of the controversy, another combatant entered the field, who conducted his attack upon Arian principles. This induced Dr. Wallis to publish "*A Fourth Letter* concerning the Sacred Trinity, in Reply to what is entitled 'An Answer to Dr. Wallis's Three Letters.'" In this "Fourth Letter," the venerable Savilian Professor threw out a suspicion, which however proved to be unfounded, that this new adversary was only his old Unitarian opponent, under a new disguise; for he says, "In a former answer (from I know not whom) to my First and Second Letter, we had two persons (a friend and his neighbour) in one man: of which I have given account in my Third Letter. We have now an answer to that also: but whether from the friend, or the neighbour, or from a third person, he doth not tell me. Yet all the three persons may (for aught I know) be the same man." His Arian opponent lost no time in publishing "*A Vindication of himself against Dr. Wallis's Fourth Letter.*" In this Vindication he disclaims the imputation of Socinianism, and holds himself responsible for none but Arian views. He says distinctly, that he is neither the Socinian, nor the Socinian's friend; that he is not concerned to defend Socinus, or any other man, who has allowed imprudent expressions to escape him; and that he is not chargeable with contradictions or inconsistencies, which may, by possibility, be fairly laid to the account of the Doc-

tor's other opponent. But the Doctor's other opponent was well able to answer for himself, which he did in "Observations on the Four Letters of Dr. John Wallis, concerning the Trinity and the Creed of Athanasius. London, 1691." These "Observations" occupy the last place in the first volume of the Unitarian Tracts; and are addressed, in an epistolary form, to the friend who had supplied the writer with copies of the Doctor's Letters, as they came out. The writer considers, first, the design of those Letters; secondly, the *Somewhats* into which the Doctor resolves the three persons of the Trinity; thirdly, the Doctor's explication of the Athanasian Creed; and fourthly, the opinions charged by the Doctor upon Socinus and the Socinians. "I am not aware, Sir," he says in conclusion, "that there is anything more in the Doctor's Letters necessary to be considered. I conclude, therefore, with desiring you to give my acknowledgements and thanks to Dr. Wallis, that he was willing to spend some part of his time, which he knows how to expend so well, in seeking to instruct and reduce the Unitarians, and particularly the Socinians. That they are not convinced by what he hath said, doth not (they confess) lessen their obligations to him. They desire it may not lessen his charity to them; since 'tis not in men's power to believe as they will. They profess he has written like a man of wit and letters; like a gentleman, and like a Christian: Therefore they will always hear Dr. Wallis as a father; and if there be a necessity at any time to reply, they will answer respectfully."*

* P. 20.

The learned Doctor was not tardy in noticing either the Arian's "Vindication of himself," or the Unitarian's "Observations on the Four Letters." He replied to the former in a "*Fifth Letter*," dated February 14th, 1691; and to the latter in a "*Sixth Letter* concerning the Sacred Trinity," dated March 14th, 1691. He concludes his "Sixth Letter" by re-affirming the substance of what he had before stated respecting the Trinity; namely,—“that what in one consideration are Three, may in another consideration be but One; that we may safely say (without absurdity, contradiction, or inconsistency with reason) there may be in God three *Somewhats* (which we commonly called Persons) that are but One God; that these three are more than three names, but not three Gods; and that God the Creator, God the Redeemer, and God the Sanctifier, (otherwise called God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost,) are such three.”*

On the 11th of August, 1691, the Doctor finished "*A Seventh Letter* concerning the Sacred Trinity; occasioned by a Second Letter from W. J." He then published "Three Sermons concerning the Sacred Trinity;" and on the 23rd of November, 1691, brought his part of this protracted controversy to a close, by the publication of "*An Eighth Letter* concerning the Sacred Trinity; occasioned by some Letters to him on that Subject: by *John Wallis, D.D.*, Professor of Geometry in Oxford."

While the venerable Savilian Professor was engaged in defending the doctrine of the Trinity after his own peculiar manner, *Dr. Sherlock*, a Trinitarian

belonging to a very different school, published "A Vindication of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity, and the Incarnation of the Son of God; occasioned by the 'Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius,' and the 'Brief History of the Unitarians, or Soci-nians;,' and containing an Answer to both." These tracts appear also to have elicited replies from two or three other writers of less celebrity;—*J. Savage, Gent., the Rev. W. Basset, and a Mr. Marlow.*

Mr. Savage attacked the "Brief Notes," in "An Answer to an anonymous Pamphleteer, who impugns the Doctrine contain'd in St. Athanasius his Creed. London, 1690," 4to. He scrupled not to call the writer of the tract upon which he animadverted "this deist,"* "this deistical author,"† and "this great oracle of the deists."‡ His style, and ideas, as far as they can be discovered through the cloud of metaphysics in which they are enveloped, soar far above the capacities of ordinary readers. The author of the "Brief Notes," in a reply to Dr. Sherlock, thanked Mr. Savage, in the name of the Unitarians, for the anxiety which he had shewn to inform and instruct them; and requested him not to be offended, if they also advised him, the next time he penned anything for the illiterate and vulgar, to do it more intelligibly, because

Learning's light, when held too high, goes out.§

Mr. Basset's work bore the following title. "An Answer to the 'Brief History of the Unitarians,

* Pp. 3. 5. 6. 13.

† P. 8.

‡ P. 10.

§ The Acts of Great Athanasius, with Notes, by way of Illustration, on his Creed, 1690, p. 32.

called also Socinians:’ by *William Basset*, Rector of St. Swithin, London. Lond. 1693,” 12mo. It was dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the author professes to have answered not only the “*Brief History*,” but “some things in more manly writers, as Eriedinus,” (probably a mistake for *Enjedinus*,) “*Crellius*, &c.” The vulgarity and insolence of the author is exceeded only by his dulness; and to the following remarks from the pen of the writer upon whom he animadverts, his contemptible production owes its escape from the oblivion which it so justly merited. “His book being such as it is, if the *Brief History* cannot shift for itself, against that Reply to it; the historian is resolved it shall take its fortune: he is perswaded, that when a discerning man has read Mr. Basset’s Answer; if he again looks over the *Brief History*, he will (at least) as much approve of it, as at first. Mr. Basset has said nothing, that can in the least shake the reputation of the *Brief History*; unless his reader will believe him, when he charges the historian with false quotations of authors. To this the historian answers; that he hath not made one false or mistaken citation: but Mr. Basset sometimes not understanding the authors that are quoted, for they are Greek and Latin; and sometimes mistaking the sense of the historian, which he doth very frequently; it hath happened hereupon, that he hath charged the historian with his own either *ignorances* or *inadvertences*. But I am not at leisure to write a Vindication, every time that negligent and ignorant scribblers mistake my meaning, or the sense of the authors by me alledged.—When

I happen on some such second as Dr. Sherlock, Mr. Basset may hear from me, and not before.”*

Of Mr. Marlow’s part in this controversy, no vestiges have yet been traced by the present writer.

The “Brief Notes” and “Brief History,” which called forth so much animadversion from the pens of Trinitarians, were composed at the instance of Mr. Firmin.† Dr. Sherlock, who had been suspended from his preferments in the Church, for refusing to take the oaths to the new government, had abundant leisure on his hands, when he prepared his reply to them. The opinion which he advocates in his “Vindication,” is precisely that which is attacked in the “Brief Notes” and “Brief History,” and has been reduced into the form of a Creed,‡ as follows.

“I believe there are three distinct intelligent, infinite beings, minds, spirits, and persons; distinguished just as three finite created minds or spirits are, as really distinct as three men, or as Peter, James and John: Each of them has a *self-consciousness*, whereby he knows and feels himself, as really distinct from the other two divine persons. Also each of them has his own absolutely perfect (for there is no infinite) wisdom, goodness and power: and by a *mutual consciousness* each person of these has the whole wisdom, power and goodness of the

* Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, by Dr. Wallis, &c. written to a Person of Quality. 1603, 4to. pp. 33, 34.

† An Account of Mr. Firmin’s Religion, and of the present State of the Unitarian Controversy. London, 1698, 8vo. p. 52.

‡ The Acts of Great Athanasius, &c. p. 20.

other two persons. Each person has his own understanding, will, and power of action. Finally, each of these beings, minds, spirits, persons, is God; nay each of them singly by himself is *a* God."

The publication of Dr. Sherlock's book was welcomed by the principal Divines and Preachers in London, and in both Universities; and it was said, that, if it did not reclaim Mr. Firmin from his heresy, it would one day rise up in judgment against him. The Doctor, a short time before its publication, left the non-jurors. He was restored to all the offices and emoluments, which he had forfeited, by refusing to take the oaths; and on the 15th of July, 1691, obtained, in addition to them, the Deanery of St. Paul's. In this preferment he succeeded Tillotson, and it is said to have been given to him principally through His Grace's recommendation and interest.*

Soon after the appearance of Dr. Sherlock's "Vindication," a small quarto pamphlet was published in double columns, and entitled, "The Acts of Great Athanasius, with Notes, by Way of Illustration, on his Creed; and Observations on the learned 'Vindication of the Trinity and Incarnation, by Dr. William Sherlock,' 1690." This pamphlet furnished the model, upon which most of the Unitarian tracts of that period were published; and as several of these tracts were afterwards collected into volumes, the present may not be deemed an unsuitable place, in which to give the reader some idea of the first of these Collections, which bore the following title:—

* An Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, &c. pp. 53, 54. Biog. Brit. Vol. VII. Pt. i. p. 3683, Note N.

“The Faith of One God, who is only the Father; and of One Mediator between God and Men, who is only the Man Christ Jesus; and of one Holy Spirit, the Gift (and sent) of God; asserted and defended, in several Tracts contained in this Volume, &c. London, 1691.” This Collection is introduced to the notice of the reader by “An Exhortation to a free and impartial Enquiry into the Doctrines of Religion;” and contains, in addition to “A Short Account of the Life of John Bidle, M.A.,” and a reprint of several of the writings of that eminent Unitarian confessor, “The Acts of Great Athanasius;” the second edition, with enlargements, of “Some Thoughts upon Dr. Sherlock’s ‘Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity;’” the second edition, corrected, with some additions, of “A Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians;” “A Defence of the ‘Brief History of the Unitarians,’ against Dr. Sherlock’s Answer in his ‘Vindication of the Holy Trinity;’” “An impartial Account of the Word MYSTERY, as it is taken in the Holy Scripture;” “Doctor Wallis’s Letter touching the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, answer’d by his Friend;” and “Observations on the Four Letters of Dr. John Wallis, concerning the Trinity, and the Creed of Athanasius.” All the above tracts, with the exception of John Biddle’s, have a reference, more or less direct, to the controversy on which we are now treating; but as some of them have already come under our consideration, we will here confine our attention to those which are now, for the first time, introduced to the notice of the reader.

In “The Acts of Great Athanasius” we have a

brief outline of the eventful history of that busy ecclesiastic, and of the favour, which he and his doctrine found in the Catholic Church of his own age, in reply to the plausible account which Dr. Sherlock had given of him and his opinions, in his "Vindication." This is followed by a reprint of the "Brief Notes on the Creed of Athanasius;" and to the whole is subjoined an able reply to Dr. Sherlock's volume, in which the writer says, that the Doctor "hath given up to his adversary all the ancient defences of this Creed, and of the Trinity, on which his predecessors in this controversy were wont to insist, and has advanced, in their room, an hypothesis, or explication, never so much as named, or heard of before."* The author then enters upon a particular examination of what Dr. Sherlock has said, first, concerning the divine substance, nature, or essence: secondly, concerning the three persons, how each person is one with itself, and how they are distinguished from each other: and thirdly, concerning the manner in which they are united, and how they make but one God.

The next tract is entitled, "Some Thoughts upon Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity. London, 1691." The author of this tract professes himself a member of the Church of England; but, like many others in that day, he was a genuine, unfettered disciple of the latitudinarian school. "I have no share," says he, "in those factions, which most pitifully tear in picces Christianity. I am neither a Papist, nor a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, nor a Socinian. I am a Christian, I thank

God. I side only with truth, and take shelter in the bosom of the Catholic Church, which stands independently upon anything that goes under the name of a party. I mean, that I do not give up my faith to those particular Confessions of Faith, which every sect endeavours to enlarge to an infinite bulk. I resolve my system into the Creed of the Universal Church, which by reason of its antiquity, but especially of the authority of its doctrines, is rightly called the Apostles' Creed, and admitted of all Christians, notwithstanding their implacable hatreds and divisions."* "As to the Creed of Nice or Athanasius, it was the faith of those who spoke Platonick or Peripatetick Philosophy: but which never descended to simple Christians, except perhaps by the means of blind and implicit faith. They were both conveyed to us, the one by a natural tradition, the other by a violent one. However, there is no reason to look for the faith of former ages in the philosophical writings of the Fathers: 'tis rather the Scholastic Divinity of those times. We must look for the common faith of that primitive Church in the people themselves; and then indeed we shall find it such as Divine Providence did preserve it in the Apostles' Creed."† "I am a Protestant upon such terms, and heartily embrace the communion of the Church of England, independently upon any faction whatsoever. And sure enough 'tis not against her I write, but only against the Doctor's *Three Gods*, and his new imposition of believing *Self* and *Mutual Consciousness* in order to be saved."‡

The author of "An Impartial Account of the

* P. 18.

† P. 20.

‡ P. 19.

word MYSTERY, as it is taken in the Holy Scripture, London, 1691," informs us, that the sacred writers mean by this word only a doctrine, or an event, which has been shut up in God's decree, or which appears to men at first under a veil of prophetic or figurative language, but is afterwards brought to light by a clearer revelation, or the fulfilment of a prediction; so that the same truth, which has been a secret at one time, ceases to be such at another. In Scripture, he tells us, the word *Mystery* is never used to designate that which is in itself incomprehensible. "Take your Concordance," says he, "and see all the places of the New Testament, wherein that word is made use of, you will be amaz'd to meet with none that excites in the mind the idea of a truth inconsistent with the natural lights of sense and reason."* He then proceeds to an examination of those passages of the New Testament, in which the word occurs, distributing them under the three following heads. First, "those wherein the doctrines, the success, or the events of the Gospel are covered with parables and symbolical terms:" Secondly, "those wherein are mentioned some secrets, wherewith God has intrusted some privileged prophets of his new covenant:" and Thirdly, "those wherein are described God's general dispensations concerning men's salvation, advancing from a dark and imperfect state to a clear and perfect revelation."† In allusion to Dr. Sherlock's attempt to explain the mystery of the Trinity, he says, "The name of Mystery is only a provisional title bestowed on the Trinity, till some other system be found out,

* P. 5.

† Ibid.

whereby it may be made clearer, and more agreeable to reason. It may be the Doctor is that blessed Christian to whom Heaven had reserved the discovery thereof. If it be so, the hereticks will be convinced of error, but at least they shall enjoy the pleasure of seeing Mystery fall down, and of being satisfied about the evidence, and the reasonableness which they ask."*

Some of the Clergy of the Church of England advocated the scheme of Dr. Sherlock; while others, and especially the Divines connected with the University of Oxford, shewed a preference for that of Dr. Wallis. Many, however, were dissatisfied with both schemes, and waited in expectation that some other, and abler champion would arise, and rescue the Church from the perilous position in which it had been placed, by the injudicious line of defence pursued by its friends. The laity, as well as the clergy, took a deep interest in the controversy, and ranged themselves under the banners of the different leaders. Some, it has been thought, ventured privately and anonymously to take part in the discussion themselves; and a spirit of inquiry was awakened, the effects of which may be traced down even to our own times. But in the Church this controversy led to no definite result. There, as Archdeacon Blackburne remarks, *Terminus* has fixed his pedestal; and there has his station ever since been immovably kept.† Some of the clergy, whose views became unsettled, were rendered uneasy in their position. The number, however, was not con-

* P. 20.

† The Confessional, 2nd Ed., Preface to the First Ed. p. xxxviii.

siderable; and when they ventured to speak out, they were generally borne down by clamour, or coerced by ecclesiastical authority. But an impression was made upon a few of the more liberal Dissenting Divines, particularly those of the Presbyterian denomination, which led some of them to embrace Sabellianism; others, Arianism; and others, a system of belief differing little, if at all, from that which is generally known, in the present day, by the name of *Unitarianism*. The Westminster Confession of Faith, with few exceptions, became a mere dead letter among the English Presbyterians; and as they felt themselves at liberty to prosecute their inquiries without the fear of ecclesiastical censures, the consequences of this greater freedom soon became visible, not only among the Ministers, but also among the more inquisitive and intelligent members of the congregations over which they presided.

In the year 1689, the Rev. THOMAS EMLYN* went to reside at Lowestoft, in the County of Suffolk, where he remained about a year and a half, and preached to a Dissenting congregation of the Presbyterian persuasion. During his residence in that town, he formed an acquaintance with the Rev. WILLIAM MANNING,† of Peasenhall, a neighbouring Dissenting Minister of the same denomination; and they studied together Dr. Sherlock's "Vindication of the Trinity and Incarnation." An attentive perusal of that work, instead of strengthening their belief in the commonly received doctrines on those subjects, raised doubts in the minds of both, which subsequent inquiry tended only to

* Vide *Art.* 380.

† Vide *Art.* 359.

confirm. Mr. Manning became a believer in the simple humanity of Jesus Christ; and Mr. Emlyn, though he continued to regard our Saviour as the preëxistent Logos, and the creator, under God, of the material world, became a steady and consistent advocate of the undivided Supremacy of the Father. After his removal from the county of Suffolk, and his settlement with a Presbyterian congregation at Dublin, he encountered much obloquy, and was exposed to a vexatious and cruel persecution, on account of his religious opinions.

While these two excellent men, and sincere lovers of truth, were studying the Trinitarian controversy in their retirement in the county of Suffolk, an attempt was made, by some of the London Dissenting Ministers, to effect a union between the Presbyterians and Independents. But the time had gone by for the formation of a permanent union between these two bodies; and their divergences from each other were every day becoming so marked, that no scheme for uniting them could have been devised, which would not have contained within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. The two bodies, after their coalescence, were to have the name of "United Brethren." In drawing up the "Hheads of Agreement," Mr. Howe, assisted by Mr. Hammond, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Williams, Mr. Stretton, Dr. Annesley, and Mr. Mayo, acted on the part of the Presbyterians; and Messrs. Griffith, Mead, Chauncy, Lobb, James and Mather, on that of the Independents.* The result of their joint deliberations was embodied in a document, entitled, "Hheads of

* *Toulmin's Hist. View*, Ch. i. p. 100.

Agreement assented to by the United Ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational."* In these "Heads of Agreement," both the Presbyterians and Congregationalists departed considerably from the principles, on which their respective communities had been originally framed. They were considered as binding, however, upon none, but those who might voluntarily adopt them. The attempt to impose them upon others was distinctly disavowed, as forming no part of the contemplated plan of union; and all claims to coercive power were declared to be no less at variance with the principles of those who took the lead in this movement, than with their circumstances as Dissenters from the Established Church. The parties joining this Union were to be left at liberty to declare their assent to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England; or to the Longer or Shorter Catechism of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; or to the Confession agreed upon by the Independents at the Savoy. But notwithstanding this latitude of choice, doctrinal differences still remained, and were warmly agitated both in the pulpit, and in conversation.†

After the preliminaries were agreed upon, the commencement of the Union was celebrated by a religious service at Stepney, on the 6th of April, 1691, when the Rev. Matthew Mead preached a Sermon from Ezek. xxxvii. 19, which, in conformity

* *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. William Whiston*, Pt. ii. pp. 549—560.

† *An Historical Account of my own Life, &c.*, by *Edmund Calamy*, D.D. Lond. 1830, Vol. I. p. 323.

with the taste of the Dissenters of that age, was entitled, "Two Sticks made one." Very important results were anticipated from this "Happy Union," as it was called: and if both parties had entered into it, with a full determination to sink all minor differences, and to act cordially together for the benefit of the dissenting interest, it might indeed have proved a "Happy Union." But the sanguine anticipations of its promoters were destined soon to meet with a fatal disappointment. The Independents, as a body, never entered heartily into the scheme; and several of the more influential of them refused to lend their concurrence, in carrying it into effect. Nor was the number great of those, who were satisfied with standing neutral. Not a few did all in their power to prevail upon others, "with whom they agreed on doctrinal points," and who had actually given in their adhesion to the Union, to detach themselves from it, and never ceased till they had accomplished their object.*

Little opposition, however, was raised in the country against this attempt to unite the Presbyterian and Independent bodies. The Cheshire Ministers subscribed their assent to the "Heads of Agreement" in March, 1691; and those of Nottinghamshire, the Southern part of Lancashire, and the West-Riding of Yorkshire followed, in the summer of the same year. The West-Riding meeting was held at Wakefield on the 2nd of September; and twenty-four Ministers were assembled on the occasion. The Rev. Richard Frankland, a Presbyterian Minister, was the only one who started any objec-

* *Toulmin's Hist. View*, Ch. ii. p. 188.

tions; and his objections were overruled. But an incident occurred, which shews that the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline had already begun to produce its natural effects. The Rev. Matthew Smith, also a Presbyterian Minister, and one who was known to entertain heterodox opinions on certain doctrinal points, proposed to the assembled Ministers these questions:—Whether he was bound to declare in his ministry the whole counsel of God? and, Whether he should preach in favour of discipline? These questions, to which no answer could be returned without considerable qualifications, occasioned some little embarrassment, particularly as a member of Mr. Smith's own congregation, who happened to be present, said, that no attempt had ever been made to restrain him from preaching on the subject of discipline. But the Ministers interposed, and recommended peace and union.*

The Union lasted about three years; and the immediate occasion of its dissolution was a misunderstanding, which arose out of the 'Tuesday-morning's Lecture at Pinners'-Hall. This Lecture had been established during the operation of King Charles's Declaration of Indulgence, in 1672. The Presbyterians being then the larger, and more influential body, four Presbyterians were joined by two Independents, to preach by turns; and for some years the two denominations acted together, without any very serious differences. At first, indeed, there were some slight disagreements, arising out of the high points of Calvinism; but these gradually died away, and the Lecture was continued,

* *Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 376.

without any material interruption, till the year 1694, when fresh disputes arose, occasioned entirely by doctrinal differences. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Daniel Williams, the munificent founder of the Library in Red-Cross Street, London, and other valuable charities, who succeeded Baxter in the Lecture, had written against the rigid tenets of Dr. Crisp; and this was seized upon as a pretext for excluding him from the Lecture.* Mr. Stephen Lobb charged Mr. Williams with favouring the Socinian views, respecting the efficacy of Christ's death,—a charge which certainly had no foundation in truth, although Mr. Williams's opinion fell far short of Mr. Lobb's standard of orthodoxy. Failing, therefore, to accomplish their object, by charging him with heresy, other intrigues were set on foot, by the more violent of the Calvinistic party. But this scheme also proved abortive.† *Toland*, alluding to the persecuting spirit of the more rigid orthodox Dissenters of those times, says, "This naturally leads men to think that should the Dissenters once more get the secular sword into their hands, they would press uniformity of sentiments in religion as far as any other Protestants or Papists ever yet have done: witness their inhuman treatment of Daniel Williams (a sober man and a judicious divine) for no cause that I can discern, but that he made Christianity plainer than some of his colleagues in the ministry, and that, it may be, he takes a greater latitude than such as through their ignorance can-

* *Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, Vol. II. p. 251.

† *Ibid.* pp. 201—204.

not, or will not from design."* While these things were passing, the Presbyterians were so disgusted, that, in 1694, Dr. Bates, and Messrs. Howe, Alsop, and Williams, the four Presbyterian lecturers, withdrew, and established another Lecture at Salters' Hall, having chosen Mr. Mayo and Dr. Annesley to make up their number to six.† Attempts were made in the two following years to bring about a reünion; but they had no other effect, than that of producing a more confirmed feeling of alienation.‡ It was found, that the difference in doctrinal views, which had grown up between the two denominations, was such as to interpose an effectual bar to any scheme for their consolidation; and from that time to the present the ground of difference between them has been one of doctrine, and not of Church government. "The two denominations of Presbyterians and Independents," says *Dr. Toulmin*,§ "became distinct communities, and acted separately with respect to their own denominations: and the ground of this separation being in doctrinal sentiments, the terms came afterwards to signify, not a difference in Church government, according to their original meaning, but in doctrinal opinions: the latter being applied to denote the reception of Calvinistic, the former to signify the belief of Arminian sentiments; or respectively of Creeds similar to either system."

In a book published in 1698, and entitled, "A

* *The Life of John Milton*, &c. London, 1699, p. 78.

† *Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, Vol. II. p. 251.

‡ *Calamy's Abridgement of Baxter's Life*, pp. 549, 550.

§ *Hist. View*, Ch. ii. pp. 213, 214.

History of the Union between the Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers in and about London, and the Causes of the Breach of it," the writer states,* as a reason why some of the Independent Ministers never joined it, "that some busy actors in forming the union had given just suspicions of their heterodoxy." This book is quoted by *the Rev. James Brooks*, in his excellent and unanswerable pamphlet, entitled, "The Prevalence of Arianism amongst English Presbyterians in the early part of the last Century, considered in Relation to Lady Hewley's Charity, and to Presbyterian Endowments. London, 1837."—"The object of the book," remarks the author of this pamphlet,† "is to vindicate some of the Congregational Ministers who had dissented from the union. The writer says, 'They were dissatisfied about the union itself, because they thought of it in general, that it was no more than a verbal composition, or a number of articles, industriously and *designedly* framed with great *ambiguity*, that persons retaining their different sentiments about the self-same things, might not seem to unite only because they agreed to express themselves in *equivocal* and comprehensive words.—They that dissented from the union (he goes on to say) durst not recommend and hold this out as a real agreement when they did believe it to be no such thing. It looked too like want of sincerity among the Nonconformists themselves, as if they were about to supplant and deceive one another. It had too much of the appearance of putting a *cheat* upon the world,

* P. 3.

† Pp. 13, 14.

as if the Presbyterian and Congregational brethren were agreed, when both sides were resolved not in the least to recede from their former principles and practices.' The only thing that surprises one is, that any men of sense could have expected the union to be lasting."

No one is better qualified than the author of "Illustrations and Proofs of the Historical Argument of the Appellants," [Samuel Shore and others, in the Lady Hewley Case,]* to give a correct opinion of the state of the Presbyterian Dissenters, at the time of which we are now writing. "The æra of the earlier Presbyterian foundations," says he,† "which we may fix at from 1689 to 1709, was a period when the minds of men were beginning to regard with great distrust the conclusions at which many of the early Reformers had arrived, especially the Calvins and Bezas of the Geneva school. Without going back to the controversies at the dawn of the Reformation, or even to the Remonstrant Controversy in Holland, or to the Calvinian and Arminian controversy in the Church of England in the times of Archbishop Laud, it is indisputable that the writings of Grotius, and after him of Le Clerc, upon the Continent, had begun to produce a very sensible effect on the Protestant section of the Christian world; to shew the difficulties which environed truths which in the age before had been thought unquestionable; and to give increase of confidence to those few persons who in the seventeenth century had fancied that they perceived in what is called the Socinian view the true view of

* London, 1839, fol.

† P. 21.

the gospel of Christ. England had not been without Divines who had thrown aside the Calvinian system, and exposed themselves to the charge of Socinianism. Such men as Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Chillingworth, and Hales of Eton, had contended for the liberty of private interpretation, and at the same time had presented to the world notions of Christian truth which, to say the least, are very different from those embodied in the Assembly's Catechism, which in 1644 was the symbol of faith which the Presbyterians had sent forth, or in the Savoy Confession, the symbol of the Independents. Even Baxter was charged (as Calamy states) with a leaning to Socinianism; and in the disputes of 1694, this charge was openly made against the Presbyterian party in general."

From what has now been observed, it will be seen, that the departure of Emlyn and Manning from the high orthodoxy, which had characterized the Presbyterian body during the time of the Commonwealth, and the reigns of the Stuarts, was not a solitary case. There is a remarkable passage in *Dr. Calamy's* "Historical Account of his own Life and Times,"* which tends to shew that, as early as the year 1693, symptoms of declining orthodoxy had already begun to appear in the body of English Presbyterians. "The contest amongst the Dissenting Ministers," says he, "went on this year, and rose higher instead of abating. Several papers were successively drawn up, in order to an accommodation, but to little purpose. They only created fresh debates, one side being very ready to suspect their

* Vol. I. p. 337.

brethren of verging towards Arminianism, or even Socinianism ; and they on the other side being extremely tender of anything that might be capable of giving encouragement to Antinomianism." A similar remark is made, in nearly the same words, by Dr. Calamy, in his "Life of Mr. John Howe," prefixed to the Works of that reverend and learned person, in two volumes, folio.* The Doctor, in this latter place, goes on to observe, that "several new Creeds were fram'd, and still objected against by some one or other, either as too large or too straight, too full or too empty," till at length, to use his own words, "the world was wearied out with pamphlets and creed-making."

While this change was going on in the Presbyterian body, a similar leaning towards heterodoxy manifested itself, in a prominent and decided manner, among the General Baptists. Mr. Matthew Caffin, who was Minister of a Baptist congregation at Horsham, in Sussex, had been accused of heresy by Mr. Joseph Wright, of Maidstone ; but the General Assembly determined not to entertain the charge. Mr. Caffin admitted, "that there were some propositions in the Athanasian Creed, which were above his understanding, after the most diligent and impartial examination ; and therefore he never had [received], nor could as yet receive it as the standard of his faith." In 1693, the charge against him, of denying our Lord's divinity, was repeated, but with as little success as before. The General Assembly determined not to take measures for his expulsion ; and this determination on their

part occasioned a secession of the minority, which was followed by a long controversy. In the mean time a resolution was passed by the more liberal majority, declaring, "that all debates, public or private, respecting the Trinity, should be managed in Scripture words and terms, and no other." This led to the formation of a new Baptist connexion, under the name of "The General Association;" but liberal sentiments ultimately gained the preponderance,* which they have maintained to this day, amidst all the vicissitudes to which the body of General Baptists has been exposed.

We cannot wonder that thoughtful men of different denominations were incited to the study of the Trinitarian controversy, when some fresh publication on the subject was almost daily making its appearance. The tracts of the Unitarians were closely argumentative, and adapted to make a favourable impression upon reflecting and unprejudiced minds. They had the advantage also of being short, and therefore soon read and easily digested; nor was there any lack of zeal on the part of Mr. Firmin and others, in giving them an extended circulation. The only ground for surprise is, that such zeal did not receive an earlier and more effectual check from the civil power. When arguments are found inadequate to the support of opinions, which have obtained the sanction of prescriptive authority, the legislature and the magistrate are generally ready enough to step in, and lend their assistance in favour of the established Creed. The first attempt of this

* Mon. Rep. 1827, p. 484. *Toulmin's Hist. View*, Ch. iii. Sect. ii. § 3, pp. 308—312.

kind, during the Trinitarian controversy of the reign of William III., was made at the beginning of the year 1693, when one WILLIAM FREEKE,* the author of a tract entitled "A brief and clear Confutation of the Trinity," of which copies were sent, under cover, to several members of both Houses of Parliament, was sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and give bail for his good behaviour during the next three years, as well as to make a public recantation. But this harsh sentence had not the effect of silencing the Unitarian writers; for in the course of the very same year, another volume of tracts, on the same side of the question, was collected, and put into extensive circulation.

This volume was entitled, "A SECOND COLLECTION of Tracts, proving the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ the only True God; and Jesus Christ the Son of God, him whom the Father sanctified and sent, raised from the dead and exalted: and disproving the Doctrine of Three Almighty and Equal Persons, Spirits, Modes, Subsistences, or Somewhats in God; and of the Incarnation." 4to. In the title-page of this collection no date is given; but it appears from evidence, supplied by the tracts themselves, that the Collection could not have been made before the year 1693. The tracts contained in this volume relate, for the most part, either directly to the doctrine of the Trinity, or to some of the inquiries involved in that doctrine; and with the exception of the last, they appear to have been printed in the interval, which elapsed between the publication of *Dr. Sherlock's* "Vindication of the

* Vide *Art.* 354.

'Trinity and Incarnation," and the appearance of *Dr. South's* "Animadversions," respecting which more will be said hereafter.

The clergy, for some time, took no notice, from the press, of Dr. Sherlock's book. The more learned among them, on a careful perusal of its contents, saw that the Doctor's scheme was open to numerous and weighty objections; and were by no means eager to make common cause with a writer, who had advanced such novel opinions, and expressed himself in such unguarded terms. The Unitarians, on the other hand, perceived that he had fairly laid himself open to the charge of Tritheism, and were not slow in turning to account the advantage which he had given them. The consequence was, that, for a year or two, the most eminent Divines of the Church of England published scarcely anything on the subject of the Trinitarian controversy, while the press teemed with books and tracts from the pens of Unitarian writers. "The *Observations* of the Socinians," says a contemporary author, "opened all men's eyes to see and acknowledge, that Dr. Sherlock had greatly overshot the mark; and that it was necessary that he should yield his place to some new opponent, who (in these disputes with the Socinians) would speak more cautiously. All endeavours therefore were used by his friends to persuade Dr. Sherlock to be quiet: and because such an example had been made of him, they stopped awhile all sermons and other tracts that were going to the press against the Socinians. The politicians among them feared the success of a war that in its beginnings had been so unsuccessful: they

said one to another, We need not trouble ourselves with the Socinians; because, being masters of all the pulpits, we can sufficiently dispose the people to the orthodox belief, without the help of *printed* answers and replies." Hence it was, that, during the publication of the tracts, from which the "Second Collection" was formed, scarcely anything made its appearance on the Trinitarian side of the question. The Unitarians met with few opponents, and for a considerable time remained undisputed masters of the field. This "Historical Introduction," however, would be incomplete, without some account of the tracts published by the Unitarians during that period. In the further treatment of this subject, therefore, our next aim must be to furnish such an account, relying principally upon information supplied by the tracts themselves.

The first tract in the "Second Collection" is entitled, "A Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; giving the general Reasons of the Unitarians against those Doctrines." The reasons assigned, which are clearly stated, and ably supported by argument, are as follow: "1. The doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation have no solid or good foundation in revelation or Holy Scripture. 2. There has never yet been an apology or defence made, (nor can be,) for the confessed inconsistency of these doctrines with reason, but what is equally applicable to Transubstantiation, or any other absurd and impossible doctrine. 3. These doctrines are as little consistent with piety towards God, as they are with reason and natural knowledge. 4. They have crumbled

the Christian Church into innumerable and unreconcilable factions and parties; so that there is no possible way of restoring peace, but by returning to the belief and profession of the Unity of God. 5. They have been partly the direct and necessary causes, partly the unhappy occasions of divers scandalous and hurtful errors and heresies; particularly of those which compose the gross body of Popery. 6. They are of paganick or heathen descent and original, and were introduced into the Church by the Platonick philosophers, when they came over to Christianity. 7. As the Trinity, when first brought into the Church by the Platonists, did, by its natural absurdity and impossibility, give a check and stop to the progress of the gospel; so ever since it has served to propagate Deism and Atheism, and to hinder the conversion of the Jews and Mahometans, and the heathen nations not yet turned to Christianity." From the position which this tract occupies in the volume, it may be inferred, that it was written in the year 1692. It is without either date, or title-page; but the leading subject is specified at the head of the tract.

The same remark will apply to the second tract in the volume, which consists, as the inscription informs us, of "Two Letters touching the Trinity and Incarnation: the first urging the Belief of the Athanasian Creed; the second, an Answer thereto." In the former of these Letters, which is short, occupying not more than a single page, the writer expostulates with his "loving cousin," on hearing that he has "fallen into the horrid heresy of the Socinians and Arians;" charges him with pride, conceit,

arrogance, and a love of singularity, for adopting such heretical notions; and exhorts him to retrace his steps, as he values the good opinion of his kinsman. The author of the second Letter begs to be informed, on what principle of philosophy, or by what rule of language, it can be correct to say, that the Father is a divine person, the Son is a divine person, and the Holy Ghost is a divine person, and therefore there are *three* divine persons; and yet, when it is asserted, that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, it should at the same time be denied, that there are *three* Gods?*

He further asks, why his correspondent can say, with Dr. Wallis, that such terms as *person*, *father*, *son* and *begotten*, are metaphorical; and yet deny to those, whom he brands with the name of heretics, the right to interpret the word *God*, when applied to Christ, with the same latitude, and to regard this also as a metaphorical expression?† In a Postscript, he alludes to the fact, “that the learned Dr. Hammond, who made a large practical Catechism, could find no place in his book for the great spring of the Trinity;” and adds, “No question but he look’d upon it as a thing altogether useless, and incapable of moving the heart of man;—a dry and empty opinion, a bone without marrow or meat, which can afford a Christian soul no sort of good nourishment in order to piety.”‡

The third tract in the volume bears the following title: “An accurate Examination of the principal Texts usually alledged for the Divinity of our Saviour; and for the Satisfaction by him made to the

* P. 3.

† P. 4.

‡ P. 14.

Justice of God, for the Sins of Men: occasioned by a Book of *Mr. L. Milbourn*, called, ‘Mysteries (in Religion) vindicated.’ London, 1692.” The full title of the work, to which this was a reply, is as follows. “Mysteries in Religion vindicated: or the Filiation, Deity and Satisfaction of our Saviour asserted, against Socinians and others; with occasional Reflections on several late Pamphlets: by *Luke Milbourne*, a Presbyterian of the Church of England. London, 1692.” This book is dedicated “to the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and one of the Lords of their Majesties Most Honourable Privy Council.” The author professes his design in writing it to have been, to secure those who should read it from damnable errors; to promote the glory of the Son of God, whose divinity, as he says, had been “boldly impeach’d, and blasphemously deny’d by a pestilent crew of subtle and insinuating Hereticks;” and to confirm that faith in Christ, which, as a Presbyterian of the Church of England, he, in common with other members of that Church, professed, and in which they hoped to die.* In his Preface, Mr. M. makes the following coarse allusion to Mr. Firmin, the leading patron and promoter of Unitarianism in those times:—“It has affixed no small scandal upon some otherwise venerable names that they have made their converse too cheap to the bold spreader of Socinian papers, and while he takes courage to break laws under covert of their patronage, they can no way better vindicate the Church of God, or their own reputations, or repress impu-

* P. 1.

dent ignorance, than by a vigorous and speedy opposition to his pernicious endeavours." In alluding to some of the anonymous Unitarian tracts, which had appeared, and which he occasionally notices in the course of his volume, he says, "Nothing but sophistry and confidence runs through them; the conscience of which made them employ *a pert smatterer in ignorance* as their hawker, to disperse their new-fangled theology about the countrey, as if it were fit one employed so much in the dispose of public charity should, to keep the ballance even between heaven and hell, pervert and poyson the souls of the impertinently curious, unthinking and injudicious part of mankind." Mr. M. concludes his prefatory remarks in the following manner: "If He [the author] has offered anything New or Solid in vindication of our Ancient Faith, it will tend extremely to his satisfaction. If he have err'd in any matter of weight, he begs his Holy Mother's pardon, to the censure of whose lawful governors, he humbly submits All he has written, and can conclude his Preface with nothing more apposite than that petition of our Sacred Mother in her Litany, 'From all false doctrine, heresie and schism, from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment,—Good Lord, deliver us.'" In reference to this concluding paragraph, the author of the "Accurate Examination" says, "The worst thing, to my fancy, in Holy Mother-Church, is this, that she is such an *Individuum Vagum*; in one place she is one thing, in another she is just the contrary: she is not the same in England (for instance) that she is at Rome, or at Geneva, or in Germany, and

the two Northern Kingdoms, or in the Provinces of the Levant: in all these places she is so different a person, that she mortally hates, and furiously persecutes her own self.—But after all that reverence which any pretend to have for this Holy Mother, 'tis certain there is nothing really meant by *our Holy Mother the Church*, but only *the strongest side*, or the prevailing party."*

The "Accurate Examination" is written in the epistolary form, and addressed to T. F. [Thomas Firmin]. In the Preface, which contains an answer to Mr. M.'s scurrilities, addressed to himself personally, the author thus vindicates Mr. Firmin's character from the aspersions which his Reverend calumniator has cast upon it. "'Pert smatterer in ignorance:' so says the *Reverend* Mr. L. M., and this was the best thing he could say, when he undertook to give a character of T. F. But I find that the *Most Reverend* are in a very different story concerning this gentleman. The Metropolitan of all England thought fit to say of him, 'That worthy and useful citizen Mr. T. F.' (Fun. Sermon on Mr. Gouge, p. 63.) What may be the reason that T. F. is drawn in such different colours? I think 'tis not hard to find the reason. Some, because they heartily love God, and reverence virtue and well-doing, can think and speak respectfully even of those from whom they differ very widely in their sentiments about the controverted points of Christianity: for God's sake, they can cordially smile upon a good man, though they think him in error; and they are of opinion, because the Holy Scriptures have said

* Pref. p. vii.

it, that fervent charity is greater than faith. But others, measuring all persons and things by only the narrow interests of themselves, and their party, and wholly excluding God and the relation to him, rail against their adversaries, giving all men to the devil that are of a belief contrary to theirs.—Well, but what might be the very meaning of this criticism on T. F.,—‘pert smatterer in ignorance’? I suppose the meaning is, T. F. has had his education at London, not at Cambridge or Oxford; he knows nothing of *Predicables*, *Predicaments* and *Syllogisms*; nor has ever learned there to drink the third or fourth bottle for his own share. What an unhappy education was this, that his friends took no care to make him a fool and a debauch; that the gifts and impressions of God and nature have not been effaced by a sort of institution, which sometimes to make a scholar, defaces both the man and the Christian? T. F. has only reason and good sense; how unlucky was it, that he should not destroy them by Logick and Metaphysicks? However, I am of opinion, T. F. will make his natural talents go as far, and do him as much service and credit, as Logick and Metaphysicks, and skill of the bottle, will do for L. M. or for his cause.”*

In allusion to the charge against Mr. Firmin, of being the Socinian’s “hawker, to disperse their new-fangled divinity,” certain hints are thrown out concerning the results of Mr. M.’s own experience in the book-hawking line. “But why,” says his Unitarian examiner, “is our Divinity ‘new-fangled’? It hath two such marks of antiquity, by confession

* Pref. pp. iv, v.

of our very opposers, that could they shew either of them for their Divinity, we would make little difficulty of coming over to their party. For, first, 'tis acknowledged by the most learned of our opposers, that the Patriarchal Ages, and the Church of the Old Testament, never knew the doctrine of the Trinity;" and "secondly, the Apostles' Creed, the only monument of true antiquity, besides the Bible, which the Christian Church has, is owned to be wholly Unitarian."*

With regard to the last charge advanced against Mr. Firmin, of keeping the balance even between heaven and hell, by taking care of the bodies of men, while he is employed in perverting and poisoning their souls, the author of the "Accurate Examination" asks, "Do you really think, that this gentleman ever endeavoured to proselyte to his particular perswasion any of the objects of charity, with whom he is concerned? Does he, think you, seek to gather a Church out of the hospitals, the prisons, the corners of streets, or of such persons as are ready to perish for want of bread or clothes?"† Mr. M. is then challenged to give but a single instance of what he would insinuate; and reminded, that the age does not "so abound with men who make it any part of their business to minister to the wants of others, that it should be advisable to discourage such persons by false and scandalous inuendos."‡

The "Accurate Examination of Mysteries vindicated" extends through twelve chapters, ten of which are devoted to the consideration of the texts

* Pref. p. v.

† P. vi.

‡ Ibid.

usually alleged in favour of the Divinity of our Lord; and the remaining two to those, which are commonly thought to inculcate the doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction to the Justice of God for the sins of men. The inquiry is conducted with great skill and ability; and the refutation of Mr. M.'s pretended scriptural proofs of the above doctrines is full and complete.

The fourth tract is entitled, "Reflections on Two Discourses concerning the Divinity of our Saviour; writted by *Monsieur Lamothe* in French, and done into English: written to J. S. London, 1693." This tract is not placed in the exact order of publication, for there are others in the same volume, which are dated a year earlier; but as it was the production of the same person who wrote the answer to Mr. Milbourne,* it was perhaps thought better, for that reason, to place the two together. Dr. Toulmin suggests,† and the hint deserves consideration, that the letters "J. S.," in the title-page of this tract, may refer to Mr. John Smith, the author of "The Designed End to the Socinian Controversy," of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

M. Lamothe, the author of the "Two Discourses concerning the Divinity of our Saviour," was one of the French refugees, who sought an asylum in England, when driven by the violence of persecution from their own country, in the years 1680 and 1681. Mr. Firmin took a lively interest in the fate of these exiles from their native land for con-

* Reflections on Two Discourses, &c. p. 14.

† Mon. Rep. 1813, p. 444.

science' sake, and materially contributed to the alleviation of their sufferings. Even down to the year 1693, the date of the publication of the tract which has led to these remarks, this eminent philanthropist continued his exertions for their relief; * and if their own bitter experience had not led them to reflect, how abhorrent persecution, under every form, is from the spirit of the Christian religion, still it might have been expected, that the common feelings of gratitude would have repressed within them the inclination to act the part of spies and informers against the intimate friends and co-religionists of their disinterested and munificent benefactor. But charity is often the last, as well as the hardest lesson, which some Christian professors have to learn; and so it proved in the case of these exiled French Protestants.

M. Lamoith, in the historical part of his "Two Discourses," gives an account of a French Synod, held in London, March 30th, 1691, by ninety-six of the exiled Divines; the result of which he states in seven distinct propositions. These seven propositions, however, are ultimately resolvable into the two following:—first, that the French Ministers are not Socinians; and secondly, that they are not Presbyterians. The former of these propositions the author of the "Reflections" pronounces "wholly ridiculous," since no one ever thought of classing the French Ministers among Socinians. The second he regards as no less surprising than rash; because, as he hints, there was no occasion to proclaim to the Presbyterians here and abroad, that, since their

* Life of Mr. T. Firmin, p. 53.

arrival in England, they had apostatized from the religion of their forefathers. But unadvised as such a declaration may have appeared to the author of this tract, we incidentally learn from it, that the rigid form of Church government adopted by the older Presbyterians was virtually abandoned in this country, at or soon after the time of the Revolution; and that ten years' residence in England, during which the French Protestants must have associated more or less with their English Presbyterian brethren, had taught them also to look upon forms of Church government as matters of comparatively little moment. Had they contented themselves with disavowing Socinianism, and throwing off the yoke of Presbyterian discipline, no serious ground of accusation would have existed against them. But a far more weighty charge remains behind, though it affects only a portion of them.

M. Lamoignon's testimony to the character of the French Protestant refugees was only negative. He stated what they were not: but the author of the "Reflections" tells his readers, in plain terms, what too many of them were. He calls them "peepers, lurchers and trapans;" and charges them with skulking about the presses, and booksellers' shops, and even abusing the confidence of private hospitality, for the purpose of getting up informations against unlicensed books, and heterodox opinions and persons. He tells the public, that they act the part of "informers, not only in the houses of Bishops, (who disdain at it,) but in the courts of judicature, to the indelible and perpetual scandal of their ministerial function, as well as the trouble and danger of the

persons against whom they illegally inform.”* He mentions one instance in particular, of a French Minister, who had been very busy in hunting out an heretical book, and prosecuting its author, first in an Ecclesiastical, and then in a Civil Court. With this person it was not enough that a book contained nothing decidedly heretical. If, by any ingenuity, it was possible to pervert the sense of an author, who expressed himself in a free, or unguarded manner, he was ever ready to take advantage of such oversight. No one could with greater facility make out a plausible case of constructive heresy; and yet, so regardless was he of truth, that he would solemnly deny being the instigator of legal proceedings, at the very time that he was laying his information, and assisting the officers of justice to apprehend his unsuspecting victim.†

To the “Reflections” is subjoined a “Postscript,” which shews the early practical working of the Toleration Act, as regards Unitarians. The author alludes to his “having seen the Articles of some French Ministers exhibited at the Ecclesiastical Court of my Lord the Bishop of L. against Dr. A. L.,” and his animadversions are so spirited, and so much to the point, that the reader will not fail to be interested by the following extracts.

“In the first place they have dared to article against a person, in an Ecclesiastical Court, contrary to the *express* words of a *Statute* or *Act* of Parliament; for the late Act of Parliament concerning toleration and indulgence in matters of conscience and religion, granted to Socinians as well as other

* P. 21.

† Ibid.

Protestants the benefit of that Act, except only in case that they shall *print* or *preach* in defence and vindication of their opinions. The Socinians are as much tolerated and favoured by that Act as any other sect of Dissenters from the Church of England, if they content themselves to hold their opinions, or to reason and discourse of them in familiar talk: the Act debarreth us from only the liberty of *preaching* or *writing* in favour of them. But now the person against whom the French Ministers article, hath committed no such offence; they do not so much as pretend that he has *written* or *preached* against the received doctrine of the Church: these Ministers therefore are guilty of an insult upon the English laws, and the statutes of our Kings and Parliaments; and are liable to a prosecution thereupon in the Civil Courts, by the persons, whom they have particularly wronged, or by any other public-spirited persons, to whom the liberties of the nation are dear. They may happen to find some not obscure persons, who in due place and time will make the Ministers sensible, that 'tis not for *refugees* to trample upon the laws of the country where they are received and protected; and least of all upon those laws which were made and designed for the ease and peace of the nation, and on which the welfare and safety of the nation do much depend. —But if Socinianism and the English Socinians are indeed such eye-sores to these Ministers, as seems by their frequent prosecutions of divers persons on that account before the ecclesiastical judges, and in other Courts, they should at least have shewn so much justice, as not to misplace their accusations,

so grossly too, as they have done. This Dr. A. L. is the fourth or fifth person to whom they have given a public trouble, on the account of Socinianism: they have been always baffled, and sometimes severely checked by the Judges and Court; all this has not discouraged them; they have no reputation to lose, from renewing their persecutions of innocent persons. But I advise them much, to lay the saddle upon the right horse; and let them not so wholly despise the imputations of calumny and malice, vices so unsuitable to their profession of Ministers. Let them cease to accuse those that are not guilty, when they may easily find so many who are not only guilty of Unitarianism, if it be a guilt, but are also *liable* upon that account; my meaning is, have *preached* up and *written* for Unitarianism."*

Here the writer proceeds, in a playful strain, to charge the Apostles and Evangelists with maintaining and propagating all the leading doctrines of Unitarianism; and substantiates the charge, in each particular case, by a direct appeal to their own published writings, as exhibited in the New Testament. The irony is admirably sustained; and a more triumphant exposure of the shallow pretences on which the orthodox French Protestants maintained their petty warfare against the Unitarians, cannot well be imagined.

The title of the fifth tract is, "The Trinitarian Scheme of Religion concerning Almighty God; and Mankind considered both before and after the (pretended) Fall: with Notes thereupon; which Notes contain also the Unitarian Scheme. London, 1692."

* Reflections on Two Discourses, &c. P. S. pp. 22, 23.

At the conclusion of this tract, the author disavows the intention or wish to challenge, or affront other sects or denominations of Christians, and least of all that of the Church of England; from which, as he asserts, the Unitarians have not needlessly separated, like other Dissenters. "We place not religion," says he, "in worshipping God by ourselves, or after a particular form or manner, but in a right faith, and a just and charitable conversation. We approve of known forms of praising and praying to God; as also in administering Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Marriage, and the other religious offices: we like well of the discipline of the Church by Bishops and Parochial Ministers: we have an esteem for the eminent learning and exemplary piety of the Conforming Clergy. For these reasons we communicate with that Church as far as we can, and contribute our Interest to favour her against all others who would take the chair."* It would hence appear, that the body of Unitarians in that day, while they dissented from the leading *doctrines* of the Church of England, did not object to its *discipline* and *mode of worship*; and therefore continued in its communion. In other words, they laboured under the delusion, (for such it proved,) that, by remaining within its pale, they should gradually bring about a reform in its Liturgy and Articles. A few years later they appear to have had separate places of worship of their own in the Metropolis; and the Ministers appointed to preside over their congregations were heretical offshoots from the class of Presbyterian Dissenters. For a knowledge of this

* The Trinitarian Scheme of Religion, &c. p. 28.

circumstance we are indebted to *Charles Leslie*, who, in the Preface to his work, entitled, "The Socinian Controversy discuss'd, London, 1708,"* alludes to it as a well-known fact, and even assigns it as a reason for writing his Dialogues on the Socinian Controversy. "I wish there had been no occasion," says he, "of reviving this controversy, which of a long time has lain asleep among us. But of late years these *Socinians*, under the name of *Unitarians*, have appear'd with great boldness, and have not only fill'd the nation with their numerous pamphlets, printed upon a public stock, and given away gratis among the people, whereby many have been deluded: but they have arriv'd to that pitch of assurance, as to set up public meetings in our Halls in London, where some preach to them who have been spew'd out even by the Presbyterians for their Socinianism.—It is told in 'The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin' that he design'd to have a publick meeting-place set up in London for the Unitarians: and now we see it accomplish'd, and their standart set up! These things have made it necessary to appear in defence of the Christian Faith, that it be not lost among us; and to give some check to these Socinian pamphlets which swarm, through this city especially."

The sixth tract is without a title-page, but is headed as follows: "Of worshipping the Holy Ghost expressly, as a Person equal to, and distinct from the Father." The object of the writer of this tract is to shew, that such worship is unscriptural; that the only proper object of divine worship is the God

and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; that an inferior kind of worship may however be paid to Jesus Christ, as the Son, and delegated messenger of the Father, who has invested him with power, authority and dominion; but that all the worship which is paid to Christ should be paid to him as a man, sustaining the office of Mediator between God and men. From this description, the reader will perceive, that the doctrine of this tract is properly Socinian; for the Racovian Catechism teaches, that divine honour is due to Christ, and that this divine honour consists in adoration and invocation; that it does not, however, terminate in him, but centres in God alone, as its ultimate object.*

The seventh tract is entitled, "The Unreasonableness of the Doctrine of the Trinity briefly demonstrated, in a Letter to a Friend. London, 1692." This is a well written, and closely reasoned tract, in which the author, addressing himself to a friend, who had begun to entertain doubts on the subject of the Trinity, endeavours to shew him that those doubts are not without foundation; and that the defences of the Trinity, which had recently been published by the Doctors Wallis and Sherlock, instead of placing that doctrine upon a firm basis, only tended to prove the utter hopelessness of any attempt to defend it on rational and intelligible principles.

The eighth tract is a short one of only four pages, and is headed in the following manner: "The Be-

* The Racovian Catechism, with Notes and Illustrations, translated from the Latin: by *Thomas Rees, F.S.A.* London, 1818, Sect. v. Chap. i. p. 189.

lief of the Athanasian Creed not required by the Church of England as necessary to Salvation: in a Letter to a Friend." This announcement, in the face of the damnatory clauses, looks something like a paradox. But the author assigns several reasons in defence of his position, which, if they do not convince the reader, that "the belief of the Athanasian Creed" is "not required by the Church of England as necessary to Salvation," may at least satisfy him, that propositions are set forth, and requirements made, in the Liturgy and Articles, which are utterly and irreconcilably at variance with each other.

The ninth tract consists of a series of passages, exhibiting "*Mr. Chillingworth's* Judgment of the Religion of Protestants, &c.;" but does not contain anything in relation to the Trinitarian controversy.

One additional tract completes the volume; and of this due notice will be taken in the proper place. In the mean time let us pause, and inquire, what course the controversy took within the pale of the Church of England.

In the year 1691, a true friend of that Church, lamenting that such conflicting views had been taken by two such eminent men as Dr. Wallis and Dr. Sherlock, published, "An Earnest and Compassionate Suit for Forbearance, to the learned Writers of some Controversies at present: by *a Melancholy Stander-by*." The leading object of the author was to prove, that the Trinitarian controversy, as carried on by the learned writers alluded to, was the most unreasonable, the most dangerous, and the most untimely of all existing religious disputes. The reputed author of this tract was *Dr. Wetnal*,

or *Wetenhall*, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.* It called forth from the ready pen of Dr. Sherlock, "An Apology for writing against the Socinians in Defence of the Doctrines of the Holy Trinity and Incarnation." In this "Apology," the Dean of St. Paul's maintains his first opinion, though in a slightly modified form. He also affects to believe, that the Unitarians, who had published replies to his "Vindication," were the persons intended by "the learned writers," so designated by the "Melancholy Stander-by," in the title-page to his tract. This, together with other misrepresentations and blunders, led to the publication of the "Antapology of the Melancholy Stander-by in Answer to the Dean Paul's late Book, falsely styled, 'An Apology for writing against the Socinians,' &c. 1693."† The

* For the above valuable piece of information the reader of this "Historical Introduction" is indebted to *James Yates, Esq.*, who, in a letter with which he favoured the author, in the autumn of 1845, thus describes a collection of tracts which he once possessed. "This collection had been made by Dr. Wallis; it contained all his tracts in the controversy, with the Socinian replies; also some MS. letters to him from a non-juring clergyman resident at Totnes, and copies of Wallis's replies to these letters. But the most curious and valuable tract, in my estimation, was that of the 'Melancholy Stander-by,' entitled 'An Earnest and Compassionate Suit for Forbearance,' &c.; to the title of which Wallis had written an addition, shewing the author of it to be Dr. Wetnal, or Wetenhall, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Whether this was Dr. Edward Wetenhall, previously Bishop of Kilmore, I do not know." It appears from Mr. Emlyn's "True Narrative of the Proceedings" against himself, that Dr. Wetenhall was Bishop of Kilmore at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that he privately visited Mr. Emlyn more than once during his imprisonment in Dublin. (The Works of Mr. Thomas Emlyn. Lond. 1746, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 29.)

† "The learned writers" to whom the "Melancholy Stander-by" alluded, were the Doctors Sherlock and Wallis, as he states in his "Antapology," p. 2; and not (as *Mr. Nelson* supposes in his "Life of

author of the "Suit for Forbearance" expresses a wish, that the consideration of the doctrine of the Trinity may be suspended for a while, till it can be resumed at a suitable time and place. The Dean thinks that the time, which he himself has chosen, is "a fit time," but is at a loss to discover what is meant by "a fit place." Upon this, the author of the "Antapology" tells him, that "the great Saint Augustine would not undertake writing against the Pelagians, till chosen and deputed thereto by two Councils, in both which he sat:" and taking this case as a precedent, he suggests, that the fittest place for "confuting heretical doctrines, especially in such tender points as that of the Holy Trinity," is a full House of Convocation; and that the fittest persons are a Committee chosen by that assembly, the result of whose labours might afterwards be submitted, for approval and revision, to the whole of that reverend body.

Whatever may be thought of the wisdom, or expediency of the above proposal, the author of the "Antapology" deserves credit for his candour and fairness towards the Unitarians, and for his defence of them from the charges so "iniquitously" brought against them by the Dean of St. Paul's. But as the Antapologist justly observes respecting the so-called *Socinians*, "some men write against them without understanding them." *Dr. Sherlock* quickly retorted, in "A Defence of the Dean of St. Paul's 'Apology,' &c. in Answer to the Antapologist;"

Bp. Bull," Sect. lxvi. p. 375, 2nd Ed.) *Dr. Sherlock* and *Dr. South*. When the "Earnest and compassionate Suit for Forbearance" issued from the press, *Dr. South* had not become a party in the controversy.

and thus terminated this branch of the controversy. But, in the mean time, a new combatant had entered the field.

Soon after the appearance of *Dr. Sherlock's* "Apology," an anonymous work came out, consisting of "Animadversions upon *Dr. Sherlock's* Book, entitled, 'A Vindication of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity,' &c.; together with a more necessary Vindication of the Sacred and Prime Article of the Christian Faith from his new Notions and false Explications of it; humbly offered to his Admirers, and to himself the chief of them: by a Divine of the Church of England. London, 1693." This work was recognized at once as the production of *Dr. South*. It was no less distinguished by its learning than its wit; and the merciless severity, with which its author treated the author of the "Vindication" and the "Apology," has few parallels in modern controversial literature. The Dean's hypothesis was to be dissected, and the operator did not spare the knife.

Dr. Sherlock's main propositions were, that the three divine persons in the Trinity are three distinct, infinite minds, or spirits; that their personal distinction consists only in self-consciousness, and their unity only in mutual consciousness; and that the terms *essence*, *nature*, *substance*, *hypostasis* and *subsistence*, only serve to perplex men's apprehensions of them, and for that reason ought to be laid aside. Of all these propositions *Dr. South* does not scruple to say, that they are founded in error; and that, if they had been broached in the times of the primitive Church, they would have been publicly and

solemnly condemned, and their author severely dealt with for maintaining them.* As regards the last, he charges Dr. Sherlock with contradicting, in his "Apology," what he had asserted in his "Vindication;"—"and as for that 'Melancholy Standerby,'" says he, "upon whose account this 'Apology' is pretended to have been written, if he will but read and compare the 'Apology' and 'Vindication' together, I dare undertake, that he will not be half so melancholy as he was before."†

Dr. South puts in no claim for novelty in his views respecting the Trinity. He merely contends, "with the humblest submission to the judgment of the Church of England," for what he conceives to be the old, and generally approved explanation of that doctrine,—namely, "that there is but One God, and yet that the Church, finding in Scripture mention of three, to whom distinctly the Godhead does belong, it has, by warrant of the same Scripture, Heb. i. 3, expressed these three by the name of *Persons*, and stated their personalities upon three distinct modes of subsistence, allotted to One and the same Godhead, and these also distinguished from one another by three distinct relations."‡

Just before Dr. South published his "Animadversions," *Archbishop Tillotson* revised, and printed his "Four Sermons concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our blessed Saviour." These Sermons had been delivered in the Church of St. Lawrence-Jewry, in the years 1679 and 1680; and were published, in an enlarged form, in 1693, on

* Preface to *Animadversions*, pp. iv. v.

† Chap. ii. pp. 62—66, 2nd Ed.

‡ Chap. viii. p. 240.

account of "the importunate clamours, and malicious calumnies of the author's enemies," who had charged him with a leaning towards Socinianism. This was the motive avowed by him in his "Advertisement" prefixed to the Sermons. But his biographer, *Dr. Birch*,* informs us, that he did it "likewise for the satisfaction of his friend, Mr. Thomas Firmin." The Queen, it appears, had heard much of Mr. Firmin, as a charitable and public-spirited individual; but regretted to find, that he was heterodox in the articles of his religious belief. She spoke upon the subject to the Archbishop, and urged His Grace to set Mr. Firmin right. The Archbishop gave Her Majesty to understand, that he had frequently made the attempt, but had never been able to succeed; or, as he represented the matter, Mr. Firmin's early prejudices were so deeply rooted, that he had never been able to eradicate them. His Grace, however, turning over in his mind what the Queen had said, resolved to make another attempt, and with that view determined to publish the "Four Sermons" above mentioned, and sent Mr. Firmin one of the earliest copies. But as far as that gentleman was concerned, they produced no effect; his convictions of the Supremacy of the Father, and the Subordination of the Son, remaining as firm and unshaken as before.†

In the second of these "Four Sermons," His Grace made some concessions with regard to the Socinians, which, as Dr. Jortin remarks, "never

* *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, p. 292.

† *The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin*, pp. 15, 16.

were, and never will be forgiven him.”* Dr. South, in the eleventh Chapter of his “Animadversions,” speaks of Archbishop Tillotson as Dr. Sherlock’s “great Lord and Patron;” and placing the boastful terms, in which Dr. Sherlock refers to his own fancied victory over the Socinians, in contrast with the encomium which the Archbishop had passed upon them, he asks, “Why (for God’s sake) must the Socinians’ reasoning abilities (which his great Lord and Patron has given so high, so signal, and so peculiar an encomium of) all of a suddain fail them, upon this author’s publication of his book?” And a little further on he adds, “So far are the Socinians from being put out of countenance, and much less out of heart, by what this man has wrote against them, that I assure him, they look upon him as an opponent according to their heart’s desire; as having play’d a fairer game into their hands than ever was dealt into them before: so that next to their wishing all the world their *friends*, they wish they may always have such *adversaries*. And therefore if they should resolve to reason against him no more, he will have great cause to thank either their inadvertency for overlooking the great advantage given them, or their good nature for not taking it. For the book called by him ‘A Vindication of the Trinity,’ is certainly like a pot or vessel with handles quite round it; turn it which way you will, you are sure to find something to take hold of it by.”†

The author of the “Animadversions” enters but

* *Birch’s Life of Abp. Tillotson*, App. No. iii. p. 427.

† *Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock’s Book*, &c. pp. 361, 362.

little into the controversy between Dr. Sherlock and the Socinians; and in the concluding paragraph of his Preface,* says, "As for that part of his book, which peculiarly concerns the Socinians, I leave him and them to fight it out. My business is to shew, that the doctrine of our Church is absolutely a stranger to his novel and beloved notions: It knows them not; it owns them not; nor ought we to look upon him, so far as he asserts and maintains them, to be any true and genuine son of it: and consequently, whether he worries the Socinians, or (which is much the more likely) the Socinians worry him, the Church of England is not at all concerned."

It is said, that Dr. South wished to learn what Archbishop Tillotson thought of his work; and that he requested a mutual friend to ascertain His Grace's opinion respecting it in the course of conversation. His friend accordingly put the question to the Archbishop, who replied, that the Doctor "wrote" like a man, but "bit" like a dog. When this was reported to South, he answered, in his usual caustic manner, that he had rather *bite* like a dog, than *fawn* like one. The Archbishop, on being made acquainted with this answer, remarked, that for his part, he should choose rather to be a *spaniel*, than a *cur*.†

The Christian world was now in possession of three separate explications of the doctrine of the Trinity, by Dr. Wallis, Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South, all differing as widely from each other, as the successive figures exhibited by a camera obscura; and

* P. xix.

† *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 323.

each, as it made its appearance, casting its predecessor into the shade, and leaving the spectators of the scene to wonder what was to come next!

At this stage of the controversy appeared the tenth of the "Second Collection" of Unitarian Tracts, entitled, "Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, by Dr. Wallis, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. S—th, Dr. Cudworth, and Mr. Hooker; as also on the Account given by those that say, the Trinity is an Unconceivable and Inexplicable Mystery: written to a Person of Quality. 1693." This tract, which was the production of the same author, who wrote "A Brief History of the Unitarians," exhibits great controversial ability, and a perfect acquaintance with the subject in debate, under all the Proteus-like aspects which it assumed. The author gave Dr. South all the credit which he deserved, or could have expected, for the full and able manner, in which he had exposed the polytheistic notions of Dr. Sherlock; but, at the same time, he did not shrink from the somewhat rash adventure of entering the lists himself with Dr. South, and measuring a lance with that renowned combatant. One of his Sections treats expressly "Of the Explication by Dr. S—th;" and exhibits all the tact and skill of a master in controversy. After mentioning, that it is not till the eighth Chapter, that the Doctor "begins to bless us with the Catholic and Orthodox Account of his Trinity in Unity, at length," says he, "at page 240 out comes the secret." Then, allowing the Doctor to state his own views, which he does by making a long quotation, he exclaims, "Behold the birth of the mountains! We are kept in sus-

pense seven long Chapters; at length in the 8th, at p. 240 of his book, he gives forth his oracle: That the three divine persons, so much talk'd of, are neither *substances*, nor *accidents*; and consequently, saith he, no *real beings*. Nay, *they have no real existence of their own*; but are *modes, habitudes, or affections of the divine substance*, or the substance of God: they are in the Godhead, or in the substance of God, such as mutability, presence, absence, inherence, adherence, and such like, are in the natures, or substances to which they belong. Or if you will have a great deal in one single word, *the very Iliads in a nut-shell*; they are *postures*; or what amounts to the same thing, they are such in *spiritual and immaterial* beings, that a *posture* is to a *body*.* Well may the author of the "Considerations" express his astonishment, on arriving at this portion of Dr. South's book, and ask, "Was it worth while to fall upon Dr. Sherlock in this outrageous manner, only because he would not call the three divine persons *three postures of the Godhead*, or *the substance of God in three postures*?"†

The different theories of the Trinity, which this able tract exposes, are thus characterized by the author, towards the close of his "Considerations,"‡ which are addressed, in the form of a letter, to a friend:—"I have done, Sir, with the *Explications* of our opposers. You see what they are: Dr. South's Explication is only *an absurd Socinianism*; or Unitarianism disguised in a metaphysical and logical cant. Dr. Wallis's Explication is *an inge-*

* Considerations on the Explications of the Trinity, &c. p. 21.

† Ibid.

‡ Pp. 31, 32.

nious Sabellianism; and in very deed differs from Unitarianism no more than Dr. S—th's, that is to say, only in the wording. Dr. Sherlock's is such a *flat Tritheism*, that all the learned of his own party confess it to be so. Dr. Cudworth's is a *moderate Arianism*: the *Ariani molles* ascribed as much to the Son, as this Doctor doth; and he denies as much to the Son as they did; even an *equality* of power, and authority with the Father. Mr. Hooker's is a *Trinity, not of persons, but of contradictions*; and he hath advanced such a Son as of necessity *destroys* his Father. What the *mystical Divines* teach, cannot be called an *Explication*; they deny all *Explications*: we must say therefore 'tis *Samaritanism*; for what our Saviour says of the *Samaritans*, by way of reproof and blame, *that these gentlemen profess concerning themselves, that they worship they know not what*.—These, Sir, are the doctrines that we oppose; I shall leave it with you, whether it be without cause."

The Dissenters had thus far taken no part in the controversy. But the "Considerations on the Explications of the Trinity by Dr. Wallis, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. S—th," &c., induced the Rev. John Howe, one of the leading Presbyterian Divines of the day, to publish a tract, entitled, "A Calm and Sober Enquiry concerning the Possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead, in a Letter to a Person of Worth; occasioned by the lately published 'Considerations,'" &c. This appeared, without the author's name, in 1694. The writer waives the question about three *persons* in the Deity; but pronounces this use of the word *person* to be neither improper, nor unjustifiable. He

merely inquires, whether the Father, the Son or Word, and the Holy Ghost, may not be so distinguished from each other, as to answer the parts assigned to them by Scripture, in the Christian economy; and yet each of them be God, consistently with the great and undoubted truth, that there is but one God. This question he decides in the affirmative, contending, with Dr. Sherlock, for the absolute distinction of the persons; but, at the same time, denying, that their unity is a mere mutual consciousness, as that writer had maintained, in his "Vindication of the Trinity and Incarnation." A scheme, which leaves out what Mr. Howe calls the very "nexus," or link, by which the three persons are united, or leaves it out of its proper place, and insists only upon a mutual consciousness, which is but a consequence of their union, wants, as he contends, the chief thing which is requisite to the unity of the Godhead.* But Mr. Howe himself, though he saw that some such nexus was required, and blamed Dr. Sherlock for leaving it out of his hypothesis, has nowhere stated, in direct terms, what it is which constitutes this nexus. He merely contends for its possibility, and compares it to the union between a human soul and body; affirming that, if God could unite in one man two such different natures, he could also create that, or any greater number of perfect spirits, in as near a union as that which subsists between the body and soul of the same man; and that such a union, with such a dis-

* *Calamy's Life of Mr. John Howe*, prefixed to his Works, pp. 65—67.

inction, is as conceivable, if we suppose it unmade, as made.

Mr. Howe's notion of the Trinity, as developed in the "Calm and Sober Enquiry," and his other writings, may be thus expressed, nearly in his own words.—The three persons of the Trinity are distinct essences. They are distinct, numerical natures, beings and substances. They maintain a delicious society; and as no enjoyments are pleasant without consociation, this necessarily gives a more perfect idea of blessedness than can be conceived to exist in eternal solitude.* Such language as this is intelligible; but the hypothesis, which it is intended to explain, is as much Tritheism, as that of Dr. Sherlock; for three divine persons, maintaining such a delicious society with each other, that their consociation constitutes the chief ingredient in their blessedness, cannot, by the aid of any nexus, which either the reason, or the imagination of man can supply, be made to constitute only one God.

Not long after the appearance of Mr. Howe's "Calm and Sober Enquiry," Dr. Sherlock published a reply to Dr. South, entitled, "A Defence of Dr. Sherlock's Notions of a Trinity in Unity, in Answer to the 'Animadversions' upon his 'Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity;' with a Postscript relating to the 'Calm Discourse of a Trinity in the Godhead, 1694.'" In this "Defence," the Doctor made no direct concessions, but wrapt up his opinion in the generally-received terms. His reputation for orthodoxy was

* A Third Collection of Tracts, &c. 1695, No. i. p. 40.

in peril, and he wished to preserve it without any appearance of compromise.

Dr. South's reply did not appear till the year following: but before the end of 1694,* Mr. Howe published "A Letter to a Friend concerning a P.S. to the 'Defence of Dr. Sherlock's Notions of a Trinity in Unity;' relating to the 'Calm and Sober Enquiry' upon that Subject." In this Letter he says, "the Dean hath asserted so positively three infinite Minds or Spirits, that the benign interpretation wherewith this Defender would salve the matter, (a new vocabulary being to be made for him on purpose, and the reason of things quite alter'd,) will to any man of sense seem rather ludicrous than sufficient, without express retraction."† Mr. Howe makes it his object to shew, that the Dean had heightened the distinction in the three persons of the Godhead, quite as much as he himself had done; while he had said less respecting their unity, and had insisted upon nothing antecedent to their "mutual consciousness," as constituting that unity.

Soon after the publication of Mr. Howe's "Letter to a Friend," in defence of his "Calm and Sober Enquiry," there appeared, in the form of a tract, extending through twenty small quarto pages, "Animadversions on a 'Postscript' to the 'Defence' of Dr. Sherlock, against the 'Calm Discourse of a Sober Enquirer:' as also on the Letter to a Friend concerning that 'Postscript.'" This occupies the second place in the "THIRD COLLECTION OF TRACTS," pub-

* *Calamy's Life of Howe*, prefixed to his Works, Vol. I. p. 65.

† The Works of the late Rev. and Learned *John Howe, M.A.* London, 1724, Vol. II. p. 584.

lished by the Unitarians. It is divided into two Parts, the former of which relates chiefly to Dr. Sherlock, the latter to Mr. Howe. But before entering upon an examination of the arguments on both sides, the author gives the following graphic description of the combatants.* “The Doctor, or Dean, or Defender, (no matter which I name, for they Three are One,) wants nothing to make him a good writer, but a good cause, and says as much for a bad, as any man can; nay, and when the nature of the cause will bear no more, he makes it good with magisterial grace, and big assurance. He has always logick enough by him, to prove a Trinity of faculties, relations, modes, to be only a Trinity of names; and a Trinity of essences or natures, to be a Trinity of Gods. All that can be said of him is, that he takes no care of himself, but sacrifices his own hypothesis, to make sure work with that of his adversary.—His adversary, the *Enquirer*, steps forth from the press, at his first appearance in the cause, with all the winning civility, and good nature in the world. He will not be so rude as to say, that his hypothesis is the certain truth of the matter; only he hopes that his gentle reader will be so courteous, as to grant it possible.—The Dean would do the *Enquirer* a singular favour, to let him be now and then of his opinion; but that not being granted, puts him a little out of temper; yet he quickly recovers himself, and when he has cut the Dean with a bitter sarcasm, p. 42, he gives him a healing parenthesis.—In short, this is the case between the Dean and the *Enquirer*: the one deals rude and

* *Animadversions*, &c. p. 1.

heavy blows; the other neatly offers dangerous thrusts. You may fancy them engaging like Æneas and Mezentius in Virgil, who maintain the fight,

Hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hastâ."

The author of the "Animadversions," after drawing a parallel between Dr. Sherlock and Bayes in "The Rehearsal," sets forth the rules of the Dean's "wonderful book," accompanied by appropriate illustrations. We have, for example, 1. *Regula fiducia*, or the rule of assurance; 2. *Regula consortii*, or the rule of company, which may also be called *regula recriminationis*, because it may have two intentions, both which the Dean follows, with this one resolution, not to be damned alone; 3. *Regula personæ*, or the rule of disguise; 4. *Regula meiosis*, or the rule of extenuation; 5. *Regula suppositorum*, or the rule of putting cases, which never did, and never can happen; 6. *Regula tenebrarum*, or the rule of darkening the matter; and 7. *Regula obliviscentiæ*, or the rule of forgetting what it is inconvenient to remember.*

Having exposed the sophistical practices of Dr. Sherlock, the author of the "Animadversions" then proceeds to examine his "Postscript" to the "Defence" of himself, which is particularly levelled against Mr. Howe. Of the manner in which this examination is conducted, the following extract will afford a fair specimen.† "The Dean justly and truly observes, that Mr. H—w's three spirits, and essences, and individual natures, which make up the Unity of the Godhead, as he has represented it,

* Pp. 3—5.

† Pp. 5, 6.

do not seem to be infinite: for, that which three become by being united, not any one of them can be suppos'd to be, consider'd by himself. If each cannot be consider'd by himself, then the three cannot be distinguish'd: if each can be consider'd by himself, each must be consider'd as not wholly the same with all the three in union. But the Dean forgetfully, and untruly says, that he allows but one divine essence, and one individual nature; for, [not to take notice of that pitiful nonsense, One divine nature repeated in three persons without multiplication,] p. 91 of his 'Self-Defence,' he has these express words. 'The Dean knows no divine substance, or essence, distinct from the three divine persons, but that the essence makes the person.' What he means by 'the essence makes the person,' I do not well know; but 'tis most manifest, that if a divine essence, and a divine person, be the same without distinction, then there are as many essences as persons, and persons as essences, nor more nor less. In my mind, three divine essences, are too many by two; he had better lose two persons, than be overstor'd with divine essences; for one divine essence, and one divine person, is enough for any truly honest and religious man."

The latter part of the "Animadversions" relates to Mr. Howe's "Letter" in reply to the Dean's "Postscript." Prefixed to it is the following motto.

*Nec quenquam jam ferre potest Cæsare priorem,
Pompeiusve parem.*

The author then proceeds to offer his commentary upon this text, portions of which may be extracted, for the amusement, and instruction of the reader.

“Could Cæsar and Pompey have agreed to share empire between them, they might have manag’d Rome, and the world as they pleas’d; but Pompey proud of his early fame, and long prosperity, would needs be uppermost, while Cæsar’s success against the Gauls prompted him to endure no superior: so they divided their interests; the event was, Cæsar was too hard for Pompey by his valour, Brutus and Cassius by their treachery too hard for Cæsar.—Would Mr. H—w, and Dean Sherlock agree to share the honour of explaining the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity between them, it would be a great stroke towards perswading Churchmen and Dissenters to orthodox tritheism; but as ill-luck will have it, to the prejudice of every Diotrephes, whether of Church or Tabernacle, the Dean is pertinacious for his hypothesis; ‘There must be three distinct minds in one numerical Godhead, or no Trinity:’ and Mr. H—w, that could be contented to have his scheme admitted as possible, cannot endure to have it set by, as heresy.”* “One and the same is the hypothesis of these two angry writers, only variegated with different terms of art. They catch, and cavil at one another, for some little by-sayings or omissions, but return not one wise word to the plain arguments wherewith they condemn one another for Tritheists.—They are mutually self-conscious of their Pagan error, and that suppresses the pride of their hearts: so when they fain would raise their voices to a triumphal *Io*, all they can reach is, ‘I will vindicate three minds from being three Gods, as well as you three natures;

* Pp. 8, 9.

and I will assert three natures to be but One God, as well as you three minds.”* “Now if ever men, that pretended to reason, discours’d more senselessly than both the one and the other of these disputants, they shall burn me for an heretic. They both confess, that there is no exact representation, no perfect example of any such union in nature,” [as that for which they respectively contend;] “and yet they will be representing it over and over again; sometimes by a tree and its branches, sometimes by the sun and its light, sometimes by a mind and its faculties, sometimes by body and soul: and that nothing may be wanting in *them* towards the representation of it, they represent it at length by that which is not; an essential union of a divine and human nature, and by a supposed union of three distinct created spirits.”†

Other combatants had now entered the field; but as they took only a subordinate part in the contest, and as we shall have occasion to notice them again hereafter, we pass on at once to another leading publication in this controversy, entitled, “Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, occasioned by Four Sermons preached by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. A Sermon preached by the Lord Bishop of Worcester. A Discourse by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury. A Sheet by a very learned Hand, containing Twenty-eight Propositions. A Treatise by an eminent Dissenting Minister, being ‘A Calm Discourse concerning the Possibility of a Trinity:’ and by a Book in Answer to the Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock’s

* Animadversions, &c. p. 9.

† P. 11.

Vindication of the Trinity: in a Letter to H. H. 1694." This publication occupies the first place in the "Third Collection" of Unitarian Tracts, and was the production of the same person, who wrote the "Considerations" already noticed, as forming one of the "Second Collection." It was drawn up at the request, and published at the expense of Mr. Firmin; and, like other writings of the same anonymous author, assumed the epistolary form. The date affixed to it is Sept. 29, 1694. A copy of it was presented to Archbishop Tillotson by Mr. Firmin; and the only remark, which His Grace made in reference to it, was, "My Lord of Sarum shall humble your writers."* This remark was made just after Bishop Burnet had finished his "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England," which had been undertaken at the request of the Queen, and with the Archbishop's concurrence. The manuscript had recently been placed in His Grace's hands, for the purpose of revision; and he returned it to the author with the following letter, in which he expresses his candid opinion respecting its merits.

"Lambeth House, October 23d, 1694.

"My Lord,—I have with great pleasure and satisfaction read over the great volume you sent me, and am astonished to see so vast a work begun and finished in so short a time. In the article of the Trinity you have said all, that I think can be said upon so obscure and difficult an argument. The Socinians have just now published an answer to us

* The Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, pp. 16, 17.

all; but I have not had a sight of it. The negative articles against the Church of *Rome* you have very fully explained, and with great learning and judgment. Concerning these you will meet with no opposition amongst ourselves. The greatest danger was to be apprehended from the points in difference between the *Calvinists* and *Remonstrants*, in which you have shewn not only great skill and moderation, but great prudence in contenting yourself to represent both sides impartially, without any positive declaration of your own judgment. The account given of *ATHANASIUS's* Creed seems to me no-wise satisfactory. I wish we were well rid of it. I pray God long to preserve your Lordship to do more such services to the Church. I am, my Lord,

Yours most affectionately,

JO. CANT.*

The reader will not fail to perceive, that Tillotson's well known, and often quoted words, "I wish we were well rid of it," applied to the Athanasian Creed, form part of the above letter:—a wish, in which many of the best friends of the Church of England have concurred, but of the fulfilment of which the probability seems still to be as remote as ever. It is also worthy of notice, with what evident satisfaction His Grace commends the skill, moderation and prudence, with which the learned expositor trims the balance between the Calvinistic and Arminian parties, so as to leave it doubtful to which side he himself inclines. The reader might almost

* *Birch's Life of Abp. Tillotson*, pp. 314, 315.

imagine himself reading some episcopal charge just wet from the press, the author of which had a longing eye towards York or Canterbury. But no living Bishop, or Archbishop of the Anglican Church, could say with truth to an assemblage of Divines under his own charge, when speaking of "the negative articles against the Church of Rome," "Concerning these you will meet with no opposition among yourselves;" for the authors and abettors of the tractarian schism have taken care to render such a declaration impossible in our day.

The answer, which the Socinians had just published, was the "Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity," in which were contained replies, both to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Salisbury. When the above letter was written, His Grace had not seen this answer; but it must have been presented to him shortly afterwards, for his death took place in the month of November, 1694. During the interval, he appears to have seen, and conversed several times with Mr. Firmin, whom he treated with the same kindness as ever, inquiring, in his usual friendly way, "How does my son, Giles?"—the designation which he was in the habit of giving to Mr. Firmin's son by his second wife.*

The author of the "Considerations" animadverts, in the first place, on a Sermon by the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, in vindication of the mysteries of the Christian faith, from the words, "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," 1 Tim. i. 15. This Sermon was preached

* The Life of Mr. T. Firmin, p. 17.

April 1st, 1691, and published shortly afterwards by Mr. Mortlock, at the Phoenix, in St. Paul's Church Yard. "As to the author of this Sermon, his person and qualifications," says the writer of the tract,* "I readily acknowledge, he hath all the properties, for which an adversary may be either feared, or revered. He understands perfectly the doctrine of the Church, and the points in question. He will commit no oversights thro' ignorance, haste, or inadvertion; he will know how to take, and to manage all advantages. He is too experienc'd and judicious to hazard his cause, as others have lately done, on the success of a *half-thought* hypothesis, a *crude* invention, a pretty *new* querk. In a word, we can only say of him; Since there is no remedy, 'Contenti simus hoc Catone.'" The preacher had distributed his subject under several heads, the principal of which were, that God may justly require us to believe what we cannot comprehend; that those who reject the mysteries of faith, themselves advance still greater mysteries; and that the manner and way of salvation by Christ, which the Church teaches, is preferable to what is taught by the Socinians. Of these propositions our author says, that "the first is true, but not to the purpose; the second home to the purpose, but not true; and the third neither true, nor to the purpose."† These three assertions he proceeds to substantiate in the next ten pages; after which, he offers some remarks upon a Discourse of the Bishop of Salisbury's, "On the Divinity and Death of Christ." This was the second of four discourses, addressed by Bishop Burnet to the clergy

* Considerations, &c. p. 3.

† P. 4.

of his diocese, and published under the following title. "Four Discourses delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sarum, concerning, 1. the Truth of the Christian Religion; 2. the Divinity and Death of Christ; 3. the Infallibility and Authority of the Church; 4. the Obligations to continue in the Communion of the Church: by the Right Rev. Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum. London, 1694." After praising the elegance of the Bishop's style, and the general elevation of thought which pervades the Discourses, the author of the "Considerations" goes on to mention, in terms of commendation, some concessions which his Lordship has made respecting the right and duty of private judgment. He then calls the reader's attention to the Bishop's views concerning the Trinity. "The three," as His Lordship is fond of expressing himself, are more than three names, or three outward economies; but they are not three distinct beings. "He seems not unwilling to say three *persons*," observes the Considerator; "but to avoid the danger of so speaking, he is careful to tell us, p. 96, 'By *person* (here) is not meant, what we commonly understand by that word, *a compleat intelligent being, distinct from every other being*, but only that every one of the *blessed three* has a peculiar distinction.'"^{*} This, however, is pronounced unscriptural; because the Scriptures, which often tell us of *the Holy One*, and *the Blessed One*, make no mention of *the Holy*, or *the Blessed Three*: and if this be all the Trinity, which Bishop Burnet recognizes, his shrewd opponent scruples not to tell him, that it is a Trinity

* Pp. 15—17.

of ciphers; and that ciphers, however multiplied, amount to nothing.*

The next Explication of the Trinity, to which the author of the "Considerations" adverts, is contained in "The Doctrine of the Trinity placed in its due Light, by an Answer to a late Book, entitled, 'Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book.' London, 1694." The author of this Answer to Dr. South was Dr. Arthur Bury, whose work, bearing the title of "The Naked Gospel," has been already noticed, and was publicly burnt at Oxford in 1690;—"a book," says Dr. Francis Gregory, "wherein its author did seem somewhat to favour the Socinian heresie, and by some expressions obliquely to question our Lord's divinity."† In Dr. Bury's answer, he treats first upon the doctrine of the Trinity, and then upon that of the Incarnation. But of the Trinity he makes nothing more, than the three attributes of Power, Wisdom and Goodness; and the Incarnation he explains in the following flippant manner. "We have seen two men that were made *one* admiral *by a joint commission*; and we see every day *many* men incorporate into *one* political body *by patent*, whereby they are one person *in law*. And in *this known sense* are the godhead and manhood joined together in one person, whereof comes one Christ, and very God and very man."‡ Hence, as we are given to understand, Jesus Christ is a God by commission, or patent; and Wisdom, (or the second person in Dr. Bury's Trinity,) is made one

* Considerations, &c. p. 17.

† A Divine Antidote against a Devilish Poyson, &c. p. 118.

‡ The Doctrine of the Trinity placed in its due Light, &c. p. 62.

person in law, with the man Christ Jesus. The author of the "Considerations" justly denounces the conduct of a Clergyman, who could profess, and openly defend such doctrines as these, and yet retain his preferment. It has been conjectured, that "The Doctrine of the Trinity placed in its due Light," had the effect of bringing about Dr. Bury's reconciliation with the Church, and restoring him to his Rectorship of Lincoln College, Oxford.* Nothing of this kind, however, appears in the "Considerations," in the third page of which he is simply described as "Head of a College, and well known by his other writings."

The anonymous author of the next Explication, or "Twenty-eight Propositions, by which the Doctrine of the Trinity is endeavoured to be explained," was Dr. Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester. His object was so to explain that doctrine, as to make it not contradictory to natural reason; and his Unitarian opponent admits, that he has avoided numerous contradictions, which may be charged upon it, as held by others, who had previously taken part in the controversy. But though His Lordship steers clear of what he calls contradictions to natural reason, the author of the "Considerations" distinctly proves, that he has not been able to avoid certain numerical contradictions; besides, that his scheme, (which is that of the Post-Nicene Fathers, as contradistinguished to that of the Schoolmen,) is attended with other insuperable difficulties. "I reckon," says the Considerator, "there is a difference between natural contradictions, and numerical contradictions.

* Monthly Repository, 1813, p. 786.

A natural contradiction implies an inconsistency, and impossibility, in the nature of the thing described, as there described; a numerical contradiction is an error, committed in the summing up of things.* The latter kind of error he charges upon the author of the "Twenty-eight Propositions," which was soon afterwards republished, with additions, under the following title. "Certain Propositions, in which the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is so explain'd, according to the Ancient Fathers, as to speak it not contradictory to Natural Reason: together with a Defence of them, in Answer to the Objections of a Socinian Writer, in his newly printed 'Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity,' occasioned by those Propositions, among other Discourses: in a Letter to that Author. London, 1694." The patristical Trinity, which is essentially that of Bishop Burnet, as well as Bishop Fowler, is described, by the author of the "Considerations,"† in the following terms. "They understand the Fathers as saying, that the three divine persons are *persons* in the *proper* sense of that word; which is to say, that they are distinct intellectual *beings*, and have *different substances* in number, tho' not in species or kind; their substances, like the substances of particular men or angels, are *specifically* the same, and *numerically* divers or different. But the school-divines, and (generally speaking) the most learned of the moderns, with the greatest reason in the world abhor *this*: they perceive, that it destroys the true and real Unity of God. It taketh away his *proper*, and *natural* and *numerical* Unity,

* Considerations, &c. p. 35.

† Pp. 36, 37.

and leaveth only a certain *political* or *æconomical* Unity; which is indeed only *an imaginary* Unity. The schools therefore thought themselves obliged to alter this hypothesis, into *that* propounded by Dr. S—th: and because others have discerned, that the hypothesis or explication of the schools is a pure piece of nonsense; therefore they have changed it, *some* into a Trinity of *attributes*, *others* into a Trinity of *external denominations*, and others into other conceits; yet so as still to keep to the foundation laid by the schoolmen, that there is *but one numerical substance* in God, and that the attributes and perfections are not *repeated* as the *persons* are, but are as *individual* as *the substance* or nature is; and in *this* consists the true difference between the *Fathers* on the one part, and the *Schoolmen* and *Moderns* on the other.”

The work which next attracts our author's attention is Mr. Howe's "Calm and Sober Enquiry concerning the Possibility of a Divine Revelation." On this work some remarks have already been made; but the reader, it is hoped, will not regret having his attention again called to the subject, for the sake of the following able exposure of the fallacy of that writer's hypothesis. "The question between Mr. H—w, and the Socinians, is; How three (distinct, several, individual,) divine beings, essences, or substances, should remain *three* several individual substances, and yet at the same time be united into *one* divine substance, called God? Mr. H—w answers, first, the vegetative, sensitive and intellective *natures* in man, are distinct and several, and yet are united into *one* human nature, or *one*

man. That is, he forgets, that the *question* is concerning the union of *persons* and *substances*: and his *answer* is concerning such natures, as are neither *persons* nor *substances*. For no man ever pretended, nor ever will pretend, that the vegetative, sensitive and intellective *faculties* (or *powers*) in the human nature, are so many distinct individual *persons*, *substances* or *essences*. We grant, that the *three* mentioned *faculties* are distinct in man's *one* nature: but what is this to three *substances*, or *persons*, or *essences*, being united into *one substance*, or *essence*? —But he answers again; the body and soul (which are *two substances*) are *united* into one man: and if there is this union between such *contrary* natures and substances, as the soul and the body, why may there not be a like union, between two or three *created* spirits; and if between three created spirits, why not between three *uncreated* spirits? Here again he forgets the question; the question is, How shall three *intelligent* substances and essences be united, into one substance and essence? His answer is, as the soul and body are united. Why, Sir, first, are body and soul *intelligent* substances, as the *three* (pretended) divine persons each of them are? or, are body and soul united *into one substance*, as those other three are? Do not body and soul remain *two substances* and *essences*, a bodily and a spiritual, notwithstanding their concurrence to the constitution of a man? Does Mr. H—w think that the Socinians are so inobservant, that they need to be informed by him, that three (or three thousand) substances may be *compounded* together into some *one thing*, and yet remain as distinct as they were

before; or that we question, whether a soul can *inhabit* a human body? Are we such negligent considerers, that we want to be told, there may be a composition (or whatever more favourable name you will give it) of divers *substances* into some one thing, of another name and nature from any of those particular substances; and yet those substances remain distinct and diverse? He thinks, we have *never seen a Christmas-pye*; where the plums, meat, sugar, wine, and other substances are *distinct* substances, and yet are *united* into one pye. The thing that we want to know, is, How three *intelligent* essences or substances can be united into one *intelligent* essence or substance, and yet still be three *intelligent* substances or essences? The instance of soul and body, is far from this; the body being no *intelligent* substance; nor the soul and body made into *one substance*; much less (as Mr. H—w's case requires) into one substance or essence *of the same name and nature with either of them*, and yet still remaining two individual substances or essences.*

The last work, which the author of the "Considerations" notices, is *Archbishop Tillotson's* "Four Sermons concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour." They were preached in the years 1679 and 1680, and published in 1693. In the folio edition of Tillotson's Sermons, they form part of the first volume, and are numbered 43, 44, 45 and 46. The Archbishop also published, in quarto, "A Sermon concerning the Unity of the Divine Nature and the Blessed Trinity," (London, 1693,) from 1 Tim. ii. 5, "For there is one God."

* Considerations, &c. pp. 41, 42.

This is numbered 48 in the same volume; but it was not one of the four above mentioned, which were all from John i. 14, and to a criticism upon which the author of the "Considerations" devotes twenty-two pages, or nearly two-thirds of his whole work. He contends for that interpretation of the Proëm of John's Gospel, which was propounded by Socinus, and which met with considerable favour among the Unitarians of the seventeenth century. But he is less successful, both here and elsewhere, in his verbal criticisms, than in his general reasonings. Had he adopted what has been termed the *Photinian* interpretation of this passage, which is substantially the same as the one that has been advocated in modern times by Dr. Lardner, Dr. Priestley, Mr. Wakefield, Dr. Barham,* and others, it would have given him a decided advantage over His Grace, and left nothing further to be wished in this part of the controversy. But though he restricted himself unnecessarily to the interpretation of Socinus, he evinces here, as on all other occasions, a peculiar aptitude for seizing upon the weak points of an adversary, and dexterously turning them to his own account. The Archbishop, for instance, had objected to the Socinian interpretation of the words, "In the beginning," John i. 1, (as referring to the commencement of that dispensation, by which all things were created anew in Christ Jesus,) that it might just as reasonably be contended, that the same words, at the opening of the book of Genesis, mean, "At the commencement of the Mo-

* Vide Gospel Advocate, Vol. I. pp. 342—349. 366—372.

saic dispensation ;” that the creation of heaven and earth denotes the institution of the Jewish polity and religion ; and that the chaos, which preceded this creation, signifies the state of darkness and ignorance, in which the world was, before the giving of the law by Moses.* But the author of the “Considerations” endeavours to shew, that the two cases are not parallel ; and that, if they were, it would be as allowable for the interpreter of the first Chapter of Genesis to explain it of the beginning of the Mosaic dispensation, as Socinus thought it incumbent on him to explain the Proëm of John’s Gospel of the commencement of the Christian dispensation. “If that Chapter,” says he, meaning Gen. i., “imputed the creation there spoken of to *Moses* ; if it said, In the beginning *Moses* created the heavens and the earth ; he said, Let there be light, and there was light ; it would be not only *not absurd*, but absolutely necessary, to interpret the Chapter allegorically and figuratively. It would be necessary to say, that the heavens and the earth are the Jewish *polity* and *religion* ; and that the *light* is that law of God given by the ministry of *Moses*, by which the former ignorance or *darkness* was dispelled. And he that should not thus interpret, but suppose that a *man* made the heavens and earth, in the literal sense, should either make the author of the book a *blasphemer*, or himself a *fool*.”†

The last publication of the year 1694, to which it will be necessary to advert, is, “A Letter to the Reverend the Clergy of both Universities, concern-

* Works of *Abp. Tillotson*, Vol. I. p. 449.

† Considerations, &c. p. 47.

ing the Trinity and the Athanasian Creed, with Reflections on all the late Hypotheses, &c. *Non quis, sed quid.*" This stands third in the "Third Collection" of Unitarian Tracts, and is dated Dec. 10th, 1694. The author does not identify himself with the Unitarians as a body, for he speaks of "*our own* writers,"* in contradistinction to them; and of "*our* Divines, who so extremely clash with one another."† But his Letter is, from beginning to end, an able and triumphant exposure of the disagreements, existing among professed Trinitarians.

He divides his Letter into ten Chapters, the first of which is explanatory of the object of the rest. He addresses himself to the clergy, as he tells them, to gain all the assistance which he can, in his religious inquiries. By satisfying his own scruples, he informs them, that they will be satisfying those of a great number of pious men, who are harassed by the same doubts as himself; doubts occasioned, in a great measure, by the differences and divisions, existing among the clergy, about the Doctrine of the Trinity. He lays it down, as a principle, that a man, who is obliged to believe a thing, must know what that thing is, before he can believe it. He contends, that a person can neither affirm, nor deny, —believe, nor disbelieve a proposition, which he does not understand; that it is impossible to assert something of nothing, or of that respecting which we have no idea; and that a man may as well be required to do a thing, when he knows not what it is that he has to do, as to believe, when he cannot comprehend what he is to believe. He dwells upon

* P. 4.

† P. 3.

the danger which there is of falling into idolatry, or the worship of three Gods, when there are almost as many Trinities as writers, and when their Trinities are not only various, but actually opposed to each other. The Trinitarians, he says, agree only in the same words, by which they make their party and number to appear more considerable than it is ; whereas, if they are reckoned according to their divisions and subdivisions, they are the most inconsiderable of all sects. They are so far from agreeing, that they are infinitely divided among themselves ; and he who has the good luck to write last, is sure to expose the errors of those, who have had the misfortune to precede him. On this diversity he founds an argument for greater moderation towards the Unitarians ; at least, till the Trinitarians can agree among themselves, whether it be a Trinity of Minds, Essences, Somewhats, Attributes, Faculties, Modes, External Denominations, or what not, which is to be adored.

The whole Letter is one continued chain of sound and close reasoning ; and it would be difficult to select any passage, to which a preference could be given, as abler, or better argued than the rest. We may content ourselves, therefore, with running hastily over the subjects of the remaining nine Chapters, from which some idea may be obtained of the nature of the author's plan. Chapter II. contains some general reasonings on the Athanasian Creed. In Chapter III. we have an outline of the schemes of the Nominal Trinitarians. Chapter IV. relates to the Trinity of Dr. South ; and Chapter V. to those of Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bury, and the rest of the

Nominalists. Chap. VI. is devoted to a consideration of the schemes of the Realists. Chapter VII. relates to the Trinity of Dr. Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester; Chapter VIII. to that of Mr. Howe; and Chapter IX. to that of Dr. Sherlock, as revised and improved by himself, in his Defence against Dr. South, and Mr. Howe. The concluding Chapter treats on a belief in Mysteries.

At the commencement of the year 1695, an honest tradesman, of the name of *John Smith*, wearied and disgusted, like the author of the "Letter to the Clergy," and many others, with the repeated unsuccessful attempts of the learned to give an explanation of the Trinity which should afford general satisfaction, ventured to draw up and print a short treatise, under the title of "A Designed End to the Socinian Controversy: or a rational and plain Discourse to prove that no Person but the Father of Christ is God Most High." For reasons which will soon appear, this was not included in the Third Collection of Unitarian Tracts; and copies of it had become so scarce, that its very title was unknown to the generality of book-collectors at the close of the last century. But the late Michael Dodson, Esq., on turning over a heap of waste paper, happened to cast his eye upon a copy of it, from which, under his superintendence, it was reprinted in 1793, for circulation among the tracts of the London Unitarian Society.* For twenty years after the republication of this rare tract, almost as little was known of the history of its author, as had been previously

* Monthly Repository, Vol. VIII. p. 781; Vol. III. N. S. p. 362.

known of the tract itself. It appeared, indeed, from the title-page, that it was written by a certain "John Smith."* But who John Smith was, no one was able to tell. There were doubtless hundreds of that name then, as there are still: but without the aid of any better clue than the bare name of John Smith, the attempt to discover the author, and establish his identity, would have proved utterly vain and fruitless.

At length, in the year 1813, the late J. T. Rutt, Esq., gained some information upon this subject, from an octavo volume, which he picked up at a book-stall, and of which he gave an interesting account in the "Monthly Repository" for that year. The title-page of this volume was as follows. "A Divine Antidote against a Devilish Poyson, or a Scriptural Answer to an Antiscriptural and Heretical Pamphlet, entitled, 'A Designed End to the Socinian Controversie, written by John Smith:' answered by *Francis Gregory, D.D.*, and Rector of Hambleden, in the County of Bucks. London, 1696."† The following is from the learned Doctor's Address "To the Christian Reader."

"To shake the faith, and stagger the minds of orthodox Christians, touching the doctrine of the glorious Trinity, there came out a little book, which by mere accident I met with. A book stuffed with blasphemous falsehoods, too much magnifying humane reason, abusing the sacred word of God, denying the divinity of Christ, and the personality of the Holy Ghost. What censure its author de-

* Vide *Art.* 355.

† Monthly Repository, Vol. VIII. p. 710.

serves, let authority judge; but I will venture to say that the *book* itself doth both *deserve* and *need* the flames; for 'tis so abominably foul, that nothing can purge it, save only that which consumes it too. This book was first put into my hand by an eminent citizen of London, [Qu. Mr. Firmin?] who informed me, 'that its author is by trade a clockmaker.' This being so, it may be thought a matter of no great credit for a divine of the Church of England to dispute a point of faith against an illiterate mechanic."* On the face of this extract, it would appear as though no notice had been taken, by the civil or ecclesiastical authorities, of the publication of John Smith's pamphlet. But we learn from other sources, as will be seen by and by, that this was not the case.

In the year 1695, *Dr. Hickes*, the celebrated non-juring Clergyman, published anonymously, "Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson; occasioned by the late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter," 4to.; and in No. viii. of the Appendix to these Discourses, we find the following allusion to John Smith's pamphlet. "Besides several libels against the state, many heretical and Socinian books have been seized and stopt, particularly one entitled, 'A Brief and Clear Confutation of the Trinity,' which was publicly burnt, by order of both houses of parliament, and the author prosecuted; and one other lately taken with its author, called 'A Designed End to the Socinian Controversy, or a rational and plain Discourse to prove that no other Person but the Father of Christ is God Most

* Mon. Rep. ubi supra, pp. 711, 712.

High.”* Dr. Hickes, in his Preface, ascribes the prosecution of John Smith to the active vigilance of Archbishop Tillotson,† but probably on insufficient grounds; for this sturdy non-juror is known not to have been over scrupulous, as a writer on subjects, in which his own prejudices were concerned, or his own personal feelings excited. *Dr. Birch*‡ alludes to the “strong and clear answer” of *Bishop Burnet* to Hickes’s “Discourses;” and to “the many charges of misrepresentation and falsehood” imputed to their author by the Bishop. The following is the title of Burnet’s answer. “Reflections upon a Pamphlet, entituled, ‘Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter;’ by the Rt. Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum. London, 1696.” But in this answer, although some gross calumnies are examined and exposed, not the slightest notice is taken of the one, in which Archbishop Tillotson is charged with persecuting the Unitarians, or of many others of less importance; the reason of which appears from the following paragraph, extracted from p. 155. “I have left many trifling things without any answer; not for want of good matter, but from that just tediousness that it gives to a man’s self, as well as to his readers, to enter into a long discussion of many trifling stories relating to himself. I have not considered many reflections he makes on some of my *Reverend Brethren*, nor these he levels at our

* *Dr. Disney’s* Preface to the 2nd Ed. of “The Designed End to the Socinian Controversy,” p. iv.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Life of Tillotson*, pp. 317, 318.

Most Reverend Primate; they shew a keenness of spite that can hurt no man but himself, and therefore I pass them over." But, as regards the particular charge now under consideration, it is sufficient to observe, that Archbishop Tillotson died Nov. 22nd, 1694; and that the "Designed End to the Socinian Controversy" was not published till the beginning of the year following. Yet, whoever may have instigated the prosecution of John Smith, for the publication of this pamphlet, there is great truth in the following remark of Dr. Hickes, respecting the Unitarians of those times, that "certainly there must be something formidable in their books, and some reasonings in them, which these men of latitude cannot well answer, that they use so much diligence to suppress them."*

Most of the publications in this controversy, and particularly those on the Unitarian side, were anonymous; and the authors of the latter so effectually preserved their incognito, that no clue to their discovery is known to exist. It was, therefore, a bold thing for John Smith to announce his name in the title-page of his pamphlet. But he had not anticipated, and was not prepared to meet the consequences of his own rash act. An information was lodged against him in the Spiritual Court; his book was suppressed; and, to ward off ulterior measures, he submitted to the humiliating act of signing a recantation. The documents, by which this fact is attested, were brought to light by Mr. Rutt, in 1829. That gentleman discovered them among "Bishop

* Some Discourses, &c. Pref. pp. 6, 7.

Kennet's Collections" in the Lansdown Manuscripts,* and made them public through the medium of the "Monthly Repository" for that year.† But as the attention of some will probably be directed to this account, who may not have access to that work, a copy of these curious documents is subjoined.

"Die Mercurio xxiii Januar. 1694, coram Henrico Newton, Legum doctorem, Henrici Lond. Episc. Vicario in Spirs. Generali, comparuit Johannes Smith parochie Sancti Augustini Londinensis civis et clock-maker, cui Dominus objecit librum per eundem Johannem Smith, scriptum et publicatum, cui titulus, A Designed End to the Socinian Controversy, &c., Anno Domini, 1694, impressum, in quo varii continentur errores in religione et contrariæ triginta novem Articulis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quarum omnia fassus est esse vera, ac submitit se.

"Tunc Dominus monuit eum ad agnoscendum crimen, quod ad statem perfecit legendo ac subscribendo schedulam presentibus annexam."‡

* 938, N. xvi. fol. 242.

† Mon. Rep. Vol. III. N. S. pp. 352, 353.

‡ The errors in the above document are probably those of some clerk, or other official. The following is Mr. Rutt's translation. "Wednesday, 23d of January, 1694, before Henry Newton, Doctor of Laws, Vicar-General in Spirituals to Henry [Compton] Bishop of London, appeared John Smith, of the parish of St. Augustine, London, citizen and clock-maker, to whom his Lordship objected a book, written and published by the said John Smith, entitled, A Designed End to the Socinian Controversy, &c. printed in the year of our Lord, 1694, in which are contained various errors in religion, and contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, all which he confesses to be true, and submits himself.—Then his Lordship admonished him to acknowledge his crime, which he did immediately, by reading and subscribing the schedule annexed to these presents."

“ Jan. 23, 1694.

“ Whereas I, John Smith, Citizen of London, presuming too far upon my private reason and understanding, have lately compiled, and rashly against my duty sette forth a book entitled, ‘ A Designed End to the Socinian Controversy, &c.,’ printed in the year 1694, and thereto, with unusual confidence have set my name, in which book I have undertaken to assert, maintain and prove several points in divinity, contrary to the Articles of Religion commonly called the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and contrary to the established laws and statutes of the realm,—I, John Smith, do hereby declare, that I am very sorry for the same, and wish, with all my heart, I had not either written, or caused to be printed, the said book, asking forgiveness of all such as have been hurt thereby, or justly scandalized thereat, and retracting all pernicious errors and heretical positions contained in the said book. And I do hereby promise, with sincerity and truth, to abstain from all occasions of falling into the like miscarriage as much as in me lies, and to behave myself, for the time to come, as befits an humble, peaceable, modest, and quiet Christian. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, &c.,

“ JOHN SMITH.”

It will be seen, that the date of these documents is January 23rd, 1694; but, according to the mode of dividing the year which then prevailed, from the 1st of January to Lady-day was considered as belonging to the preceding year, so that their proper date, according to our present mode of reckoning,

would be January 23rd, 1695. It is probable that most of the copies of John Smith's pamphlet were seized before they had got into circulation; and on a comparison of the date of the recantation with that of Dr. Gregory's "Antidote," it becomes difficult to acquit the Doctor of an affected ignorance of the legal process which had been commenced against the unfortunate clock-maker. Expressions certainly occur in the course of the volume, which convey the idea, and are intentionally worded so as to leave on the reader's mind the impression, that the author was in doubt whether "John Smith" was a real, or an assumed name.

Dr. Gregory, as Mr. Rutt observes, "is a polemic of the school of South rather than of Tillotson." In modern times "he has scarcely been excelled, if even equalled, as a coiner of opprobrious epithets;" and the name and occupation of the object of his attack afford him inexhaustible subjects, on which to discharge the shafts of his wit. Much of his time had been spent in teaching youth; and this may account, in some measure, for the dictatorial tone which he often assumes, and the terms of disparagement which he lavishes upon those, who, not having enjoyed the same literary advantages as himself, venture to express an opinion of their own on theological subjects. In the early part of his life he was an Usher at Westminster School, under the celebrated Dr. Busby; after which he became successively Master of the Free-Schools at Woodstock and Witney. At both these places he continued several years, and attained considerable eminence as a Schoolmaster. His contemporary,

Anthony Wood, says, "this Dr. Gregory is now at Hambleton, free from the noise of a school;" and it was at his own rectory, in that quiet village, that he prepared his "Antidote to the Devilish Poyson" of John Smith, whom he classes with "Ebion, and that villain Cerinthus, who held, and endeavoured to propagate the same cursed opinion."

"This very assuming Socinian champion," says the Doctor, "calls himself, if his printer do not nickname him, John Smith; and truly, as the poet observes, 'convenient rebus nomina sæpe suis,' this person's name is apposite enough, and somewhat of kin to his occupation; for I am informed this great undertaker, and reconciler, is by trade a clock-maker, and therefore a man, in all probability, who never had anything of a liberal and learned education; perhaps, indeed, some little skill in the *Mathematicks* may be useful to him in framing a clock, but in his managing this great and controverted point of Divinity, as we do not expect any *mathematical*, so neither can we find any *logical* demonstration."

After investing the author of the "Designed End to the Socinian Controversy" with the titles of "heretical clockmaker—illiterate mechanick—Socinian scribbler—Socinian babbler—Socinian pamphleteer," and many others of the same cast, the learned Dr. Gregory recommends him "not to prefer the private opinions of a *few* particular men above the *general judgment* of the Catholic Church;" and concludes by giving him the following advice.—"And now, for a farewell, let me recommend to you that counsel of the Roman orator—'Artem

quam quisque novit, eam exerceat,' and those vulgar proverbial speeches, 'ne sutor ultra crepidam,' and 'tractent fabrilis fabri:' since the wisdom of nations is said to lie much in their proverbs, it will be your prudence to govern yourself by these; the meaning whereof is this: that every man should exercise that art only which he well understands; that a shoemaker should not presume to go beyond his last; that a smith should deal with those materials and tools only which are proper for his vocation. And since your name is Smith, and, as I am credibly informed, your employment being that of a clockmaker, is somewhat suitable thereunto, you may do well to lay aside the use of pen, ink and paper, in order to the writing of books, and to take up the hammer, or use the anvil; to mind the springs, wheels and movements of your clocks; to leave the interpretation of Scriptures, and the decision of controversies, to learned men, who are able to manage them a great deal better."

But in spite of the Doctor's superior acquirements, of which he takes special care that the reader shall not want proofs, a vein of practical good sense runs through the pamphlet of honest John Smith, which, notwithstanding a few erroneous interpretations of Scripture, chargeable rather upon the age in which he lived, than upon himself, contrasts agreeably with the coarse wit, and pedantic conceit of his Reverend assailant.

Early in the year 1695, *Dr. John Williams*, Prebendary of Canterbury, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester, published "A Vindication of the Sermons of His Grace, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, con-

cerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our B. Saviour; and of the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Sermon on the Mysteries of the Christian Faith; from the Exceptions of a late Book, entituled, 'Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity:' to which is annexed, A Letter from the Lord Bishop of Sarum to the Author of the said Vindication on the same Subject. London, 1695," 4to. The "Imprimatur" is dated Nov. 17, 1694, the day immediately preceding that, on which Archbishop Tillotson had the apoplectick attack, which terminated his life; and the author states, in his Dedication to James Chadwick, Esq., the Archbishop's son-in-law, that the work was undertaken with the sanction, and prepared under the auspices, of His Grace, to whose inspection the manuscript was submitted, although he lived only to read and revise a portion of it. To this "Vindication," as the title-page intimates, was subjoined "A Letter" to the author, by Bishop Burnet, dated Feb. 2, 1694-5, in which His Lordship expresses himself with great contempt respecting the Unitarian portion of the controversy.* To this "Letter" the Archbishop not improbably alluded, when he said to Mr. Firmin, "My Lord of Sarum shall humble your writers."

It is a fact well known to those, who are acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the time, that the Sermons, which Archbishop Tillotson published, for the purpose of clearing himself from the charge of Socinianism, had just the opposite effect; and tended to confirm the suspicions, which had been raised in some minds, respecting his unsound-

* *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, pp. 295, 296.

ness in the faith.* *Charles Leslie*, a non-juror, and virulent polemical writer of that period, made these very Sermons the ground-work of an attack upon the Archbishop, in which His Grace is charged with Socinianism, and something more. The book professes to have been printed in Edinburgh, though the author is said never to have visited Scotland. It bore the following title. "The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson considered, in an Examination of some Sermons he has lately published, on purpose to clear himself from that Imputation, by Way of Dialogue between F., a Friend of Dr. Tillotson's, and C., a Catholic Christian: to which is added Some Reflections upon the Second of Dr. Burnet's Four Discourses concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ, printed in 1694: to which is likewise annex'd A Supplement upon Occasion of a 'History of Religion' lately published, supposed to be wrote by Sir R. H——d:† wherein

* Biog. Brit. *Art.* TILLOTSON, Vol. VI. Pt. i. p. 3952.

† Sir ROBERT HOWARD. The full title of this tract is, "The History of Religion, as it has been manag'd by Priestcraft: written by a Person of Quality." It was originally published in 1694, and was reprinted in a volume of tracts, entitled, "An Account of the Growth of Deism in England, with other Tracts of the same Author: to which are added, Sir Robert Howard's 'History of Religion,' &c. London, 1709," 8vo. Sir Robert Howard is described by Toland, in his "Life of John Milton," (pp. 138, 139,) as "a gentleman of great generosity, a patron of letters, and a hearty friend to the liberty of his country. Being told that he was charg'd in a book with whipping the Protestant Clergy on the back of the Heathen and Popish Priests, he presently asked what they had to do there? He was a great admirer of Milton to his dying day; and, being his particular acquaintance, would tell many pleasant stories of him, as that he himself having demanded of him once what made him side with the Republicans? Milton answered, among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government; for that the trappings of a Monarchy might set up an ordinary Commonwealth."

likewise Charles Blount's 'Great Diana' is considered; and both compar'd with Dr. Tillotson's 'Sermons:' by a true Son of the Church." The author of this brutal attack says of His Grace, whom he calls "Dr. Tillotson," and from whom he studiously withholds all recognition of his archiëpiscopal dignity;—"His politics are Leviathan, and his religion is Latitudinarian, which is none; that is, nothing that is positive, but against everything that is positive in other religions, whereby to reduce all religions to an uncertainty, and determinable only by the civil power.—He is own'd by the Atheistical wits of all England as their true Primate and Apostle. They glory and rejoice in him, and make their public boasts of him. He leads them not only the length of Socinianism (they are but slender beaux have got no farther than that) but to call in question all revelation, to turn *Genesis*, &c. into a mere romance; to ridicule the whole, as Blount, Gildon, and others of the Doctor's disciples have done in print."*

The next reply to the "Considerations" was by the Rev. *John Howe*, and was entitled, "A View of that part of the late 'Considerations' addressed to

The work to which Toland alludes in the above passage was "The History of Religion." Its author "thought and probably conversed with the early English Unitarians. He was a great admirer of Archbishop Tillotson, and was accused, together with Tillotson, of Deism, if not Atheism, by the 'accuser of the brethren,' Lealie. There is a letter of his in reply, in a well-written and amusing book, called 'A Twofold Vindication of the late Archbishop of Canterbury and of the author of the History of Religion,' 8vo. 1696. The writer of the second part of this work, a Clergyman, was a Unitarian, though not a Socinian. See pp. 89. 101. 145.;" and Mon. Rep. Vol. XI. p. 661.

* *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, pp. 296, 297.

H. H. about the Trinity, which concerns the 'Sober Enquiry' on that Subject: in a Letter to a Friend."* This Letter is written with some degree of sprightliness, and with an appearance of good temper; and Mr. Howe endeavours to shew, that he has not been quite fairly dealt with by the Considerator. In other respects there is nothing worthy of notice in his Letter, except the allusions which the writer incidentally makes to his anonymous opponent, and the high estimate which he forms of his talents and attainments. "The author," says Mr. Howe, "is pleas'd to give me the honour of a name, a lank, unvocal one.† It is so contrived, that one may easily guess whom he means, but the reason of his doing so I cannot guess; it is because he knew, himself, what he would have others believe. But I suppose he as well knew his own name. If he knew not the former, he ran the hazard of injuring either the supposed author, or the true, or both. I could, I believe, make as shrewd a guess at his name, and express it as plainly; but I think it not civil to do so, because I apprehend he had some reason to conceal it, whereof I think he had a right to be the judge. But I will not prescribe to him rules of civility, of which that he is a great judge, I will not allow myself to doubt."‡ A little further on, Mr. Howe says, "For himself, I discern, and readily acknowledge in him those excellent accomplishments, for which I most heartily wish him an

* *Howe's Works*, Vol. II. p. 587.

† "Mr. H—w." The name is not printed at full length, because the "Calm and Sober Enquiry" was published anonymously.

‡ *Howe's Works*, Vol. II. p. 588.

advocate in a better cause." He styles the author of the "Considerations" "my learned antagonist;"* "the very sagacious author, of whose abilities, and industry together, I really have that opinion, as to count him the most likely to confute this hypothesis of all the modern Anti-Trinitarians;"† and "this very ingenious writer, so well acquainted with the gust and relish of intellectual delight."‡ Having occasion, towards the close of his Letter, to allude to the author of "Animadversions on a Postscript to the Defence of Dr. Sherlock against the 'Calm Discourse of the Sober Enquirer,' as also on the 'Letter to a Friend' concerning that Postscript;"§ he says, "Who this is I will not pretend to guess, only I guess him not to be the same with the *Considerator*, for this, besides other reasons, that he calls the author of the 'Considerations,' a *great man*; and I scarce think he would call himself so."|| Alluding, again, in the "Advertisement,"¶ to the author of "A Letter to the Clergy of both Universities," he says, "I leave him to compound that difference with his abler *Considerator*." It would hence appear, that the author of the "Considerations" was deemed a person of some note, independently of what may be inferred from the general tenor of his controversial writings; and as Mr. Howe was able to "make a shrewd guess at his name," it is much to be regretted, that his sense of civility restrained him from so doing, for this single conjecture would have been of more value, in our day, than all his abortive

* P. 589.

† P. 590.

‡ Ibid.

§ Third Collection of Tracts, No. 2.

|| *Howe's Works*, Vol. II. p. 607.

¶ P. 609.

attempts to prove "the possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead." It has been suspected, that Mr. LOCKE and Sir ISAAC NEWTON* both took part in the Trinitarian controversy, and even contributed to the three Volumes of Unitarian Tracts, published during the contest between South and Sherlock; but in the absence of direct evidence, it is useless to speculate upon a subject involved in so much uncertainty. Bishop Law thought, that there was good ground for believing the traditional report, that one of the above-mentioned tracts came from Mr. Locke's pen; and that this report derived confirmation from the style of the sixth tract in the Third Volume, containing a defence of his own work, entitled, "The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures." But, besides that this tract professes to have been written by one, who was personally unacquainted with the author of that work, Mr. Locke himself explicitly says, in the Codicil to his Will, after enumerating several of his anonymous writings, in which this is not included,—“These are all the books of which I am the author, which have been published without my name to them.”† In the face of a declaration like this, it is a reflection upon the integrity of Mr. Locke's character to suppose, that he was concerned, either directly or indirectly, in the authorship of the old Unitarian Tracts, published towards the close of the seventeenth century. Nor is the evidence much stronger, as regards Sir Isaac Newton. Tradition, indeed, has assigned to him the ninth

* Vide *Art.* 356 and 357.

† *Lord King's Life of John Locke.* Lond. 1830, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 52.

tract in the First Volume, entitled, "The Acts of Great Athanasius." Mr. Whiston thought, that the internal evidence in favour of his being the author was considerable; but was nevertheless of opinion, that he could not well have written "one ludicrous paragraph" contained in this tract, because he was uniformly grave and serious, and never dealt in ludicrous matters.* It has also been thought probable, that Sir Isaac Newton was the author of the third tract in the Second Volume, containing an "examination of the principal texts usually alleged for the divinity of our Saviour," in reply to the Rev. Luke Milbourne's work, entitled, "Mysteries (in Religion) vindicated." The first Chapter of that tract is devoted to an investigation of the evidence adduced by Mr. Milbourne in favour of the reading of the Received Text in 1 Tim. iii. 16, which is one of the passages discussed by Sir Isaac Newton, in his "Historical Account of two Notable Corruptions of Scripture." But on comparing the Chapter in question with the latter part of the "Historical Account," it will be seen, that there is little, if anything, common to the two, which might not have been expected from different authors, treating upon the same subject. On the whole, then, it seems improbable, that Sir Isaac Newton was one of the writers of the old Unitarian Tracts. His extreme timidity, to say nothing more, would most likely have prevented him from lending his aid to so bold and perilous an enterprise, as the composition and publication of these tracts. "It seems to have been owing to his natural shyness, and modesty, and fear

* Vide *Art.* 357, No. 10.

of being drawn into controversy," says Mr. *Lindsey*,* "that this most eminent person never openly declared his sentiments on this important subject, in his life-time; and rather insinuated them indirectly in those writings which were published afterwards. I find however that some, who lived nearer those times, ascribed this prodigious reserve to a blameable timidity, and fear of persecution. For the anonymous author of a pamphlet of some repute, who wrote about 20 years after Sir Isaac's death, having mentioned Mr. Emlyn's sufferings in this cause, proceeds to say: This persecuting spirit† 'kept in awe, and silenced some extraordinary persons amongst us, Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and the greatest man of the age, and glory of the British nation, I mean, the renowned Sir Isaac Newton.'"

It was during the year 1695, that Mr. Locke published "The Reasonableness of Christianity;" but it appeared without his name, and his most intimate friends were not let into the secret, that he was the author. He was reluctant, indeed, to prefix his name to anything of a controversial character, whether on the subject of religion or politics. Many anonymous works on topics of passing interest were attributed to him, some of which he undoubtedly wrote; and among them was "The Reasonableness of Christianity," of which he acknowledged himself to be the author in the Codicil to his Will.‡ In a letter to his friend Mr. Molyneux, dated July

* Hist. View, Chap. vi. Sect. v. pp. 402, 403.

† Causa Dei contra Novatores, &c. pp. 31. 58. London, 1748.

‡ Life of Locke, ubi supra.

2nd, 1695, he says, "With my 'Treatise on Education,' I believe you will receive another little one concerning 'Interest and Coinage.' It is one of the fatherless children which the world lay at my door ; but, whoever be the author, I shall be glad to know your opinion of it." In a subsequent letter, written on the 20th of November in the same year, and addressed to the same gentleman, he says, in allusion to this work, "However you are pleased to make me a compliment, in making me the author of a book you think well of, yet you may be sure I do not own it to be mine till you see my name to it."*

We know, from more sources than one, that Mr. Locke, in the winter of the year 1694, devoted himself, with great earnestness and assiduity, to the study of Christian Theology. There is still among his manuscripts a book, with the title, "*Adversaria Theologica*," which was begun in that year, and in which the arguments for and against the doctrines of the Trinity, and the Supreme Deity of Jesus Christ, are ranged in opposite columns. His biographer, *Lord King*,† says of these arguments, which he presents to the reader "as specimens," that "they may be considered as indications of his opinions;" and that those opinions were Antitrinitarian no one can doubt, who merely glances at the specimens produced by His Lordship.

"The Reasonableness of Christianity" did not long escape the notice of the orthodox party, and was particularly offensive to the Clergy, and the majority of Nonconformist Divines in England. The

* Familiar Letters, pp. 118 and 128.

† The Life of John Locke, Vol. II. p. 186.

Rev. *John Edwards, B.D.*, in particular, assailed it with the utmost vehemence, in a work entitled, "Some Thoughts concerning the several Causes and Occasions of Atheism, especially in the present Age, with some brief Reflections on Socinianism, and on a late Book, entituled, 'The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures.' London, 1695."

To that part of Mr. Edwards's book, which related to "The Reasonableness of Christianity," a reply, by the author of that work, soon appeared, under the title of "A Vindication of 'The Reasonableness of Christianity,' &c. from Mr. Edwards's Reflections. London, 1695." In this "Vindication" Mr. Locke disclaims the name *Socinian*; and says, that Mr. Edwards "has no more reason to charge" his book "with Socinianism, for the omissions he mentions, than the Apostles' Creed. 'Tis therefore well," he adds, "for the compilers of that Creed, that they lived not in Mr. Edwards's days; for he would, no doubt, have found them 'all over Socinianized,' for omitting the texts he quotes, and the doctrines he collects out of John i. and John xiv., p. 107, 108. Socinianism, then, is not the fault of the book, whatever else it be. For I repeat it again, there is not one word of Socinianism in it."*

Mr. Edwards had said,† that Mr. Locke expounded John xiv. 9, &c., after the Antitrinitarian mode, and made Christ and Adam to be sons of God, in the same sense as "the Racovians" gene-

* The Works of *John Locke, Esq.*, Fol., London, 1759, Vol. II. p. 592.

† P. 112.

rally do. In reply to this charge, Mr. Locke says, "I know not but it may be true, that the Antitrinitarians and Racovians understand those places as I do: but 'tis more than I know, that they do so. I took not my sense of those texts from those writers, but from the Scripture itself, giving light to its own meaning, by one place compared with another: what in this way appears to me its true meaning, I shall not decline, because I am told that it is so understood by the Racovians, whom I never yet read; nor embrace the contrary, though 'the generality of divines' I more converse with should declare for it."* It is the great charm, not only of "The Reasonableness of Christianity," but of all Mr. Locke's writings on religious subjects, that he does not depend upon mere human authority, but goes to the Scriptures themselves for his faith, and makes them their own interpreters. If his conclusions happen to accord, in many, or even in most instances, with those of the Socinian commentators, as they most certainly do, the greater is the probability, that those conclusions are fairly and legitimately deduced: but it was the part neither of a Christian, nor a gentleman, on that account, to attempt to fix upon him the opprobrious name of *Socinian*, when he disclaimed it, and shewed that it did not in fairness belong to him, and could not be applied to him in any rational and consistent sense.

Another defence of "The Reasonableness of Christianity," from the pen of an avowed Unitarian, appeared before the end of the year 1695, which has been attributed by some, as we have already

* Works, Vol. II. p. 594.

seen, to Mr. Locke himself.* It forms the sixth in the Third Collection of Unitarian Tracts, and bears the following title. "The Exceptions of Mr. Edwards, in his 'Causes of Atheism,' against 'The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures,' examin'd, and found unreasonable, unscriptural and injurious." The author of this tract was not aware, that "The Reasonableness of Christianity" was written by Mr. Locke; but he commends the plan of that work, as well as the mode of its execution, and states his conviction, that the author has shewn, with full evidence of Scripture and reason, that the fundamentals of Christianity are all comprehended, or implied in this plain proposition,—that Jesus is the Messiah.†

Mr. Edwards, author of "The Causes of Atheism," was the son of the Rev. Thomas Edwards, who, about half a century earlier, had rendered himself conspicuous by the publication of the work, called, "GANGRÆNA, or a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time, &c." He was a worthy scion of such a stock; and, like his father, always had a pen pointed with sarcasm, and dipped in gall, ready to aid the party arrogating to itself the name of *orthodox*. He lost no time in publishing a reply both to Mr. Locke's "Vindication," and to the tract above mentioned. The title of this reply was, "Socinianism Unmask'd: a Discourse shewing the Unreasonableness of a late

* Vide p. 304.

† Dedication, or Address to the author of "The Reasonableness of Christianity," prefixed to the "Exceptions, &c."

Writer's Opinion concerning the Necessity of only One Article of Christian Faith, &c. ; with a brief Reply to another (professed) Socinian Writer. London, 1696." It is clear, that Mr. Edwards knew who was the author of "The Reasonableness of Christianity ;" or, at least, that he gave credit to the current report of the day, which attributed it to Mr. Locke. But he availed himself of the circumstance of its being published anonymously, in order that he might give the greater license to his pen. "I will not waste time," says he,* "and trouble the reader and myself about guessing who the author is. Out of Christian good-will and charity, I am backward to believe that he who is vogue'd to be the father of these extravagant conceits is really so. I will still persuade myself that there is *an error of the person* ; upon which account I shall be more free than otherwise I should have been." Mr. Edwards, however, has done, by oblique hints, that which he refrained from doing openly, and which he professes † not to have done at all.

As specimens of Mr. Edwards's controversial style, it will be sufficient to select the following epithets, applied by him to the author of "The Reasonableness of Christianity."—"This guilty man:"‡ "this upstart Racovian:"§ "this meek man:"|| "this flourishing scribbler:"¶ "a prudential Racovian:"*** "our good Ottoman writer:"†† "this late undertaker:"‡‡ "this inferior inquisitor:" "this censorious gentleman:"§§ "our hasty author:"||| "our

* Introd. A. 2. 3.

† P. 138.

‡ P. 5.

§ P. 24.

|| P. 36.

¶ P. 41.

*** P. 45.

†† P. 53.

‡‡ P. 56.

§§ P. 61.

||| P. 77.

Racovian:" "this late proselyte:"* "our late convert:"† "this new convert:"‡ "a pupil of Socinus:"§ "an egregious whiffler, or a notorious dissembler:"|| "the criminal:"¶ "this judicious casuist:"** "a stubborn dissembler."††

The Unitarian Tracts, published during the great controversy of this period, were generally printed in small 4to., with double columns. To this circumstance Mr. Edwards alludes, on more occasions than one, calling them "the double-column'd prints,"†† and their authors "double-column'd gentlemen,"§§ and "double-column'd writers."||| He is very particular, too, in directing the reader's attention to the fact, that Mr. Locke's book is got up in a different way from these, as though this difference involved some great mystery. He accordingly represents Mr. Locke as saying to himself,¶¶ "I will carry it cunningly: whilst *the double-column'd prints* are openly and in a downright way advancing the cause, I will do as much service underhand. They look directly towards Poland or Transylvania, they publicly profess themselves to be Socinus's followers, but I'll be upon the reserve, and so disguise myself that it shall be very difficult to discover me. I will make the world believe that I never heard of such a man as Socinus; and if they tell me that I speak his very language as perfectly as if I were a native of Sienna, I'll face them down that I had it not by fingring of any Socinian authors, but by a kind of natural revelation. If I compass my end, it

* P. 85.	† P. 90.	‡ P. 95.	§ P. 97.
P. 98.	¶ P. 102.	** P. 105.	†† P. 112.
†† Introduction.	§§ P. 115.	P. 130.	¶¶ Introd.

is enough, and I care for no more. And my end is this, to hale in Socinianism after a new manner." It was the discovery of this profound secret, which led Mr. Edwards to entitle his book "*Socinianism Unmask'd.*" The unmasking consisted in a laborious effort to substantiate the following charges against the author of "*The Reasonableness of Christianity.*" 1. That he had crowded all the essential articles of the Christian faith into one, with the design of favouring Socinianism; 2. that he had shewn his good-will to the Socinian cause by giving an Antitrinitarian interpretation to those texts, which are presumed to have a reference to the Holy Trinity; and 3. that he had given proofs of his Socinianizing tendencies, by his silence respecting the doctrine of Satisfaction, although he undertook to enumerate the advantages and benefits of Christ's coming into the world.*

Appended to Mr. Edwards's "*Socinianism Unmask'd*" is "A brief Reply to another Socinian Writer," which abounds in all the more prominent peculiarities of that reverend gentleman's compositions. The Socinian writer, against whose pamphlet his "Reply" was directed, Mr. Edwards calls "the Reverend Examiner,"† and "this professed and known writer of the brotherhood."‡ But though he is classed among the members of the clerical profession, of his name Mr. Edwards gives not the slightest hint. The Rev. Stephen Nye, Rector of Hormhead, is probably the person intended. Be this as it may, however, it is something to have learned, that all the authors of the

* P. 4.

† P. 118.

‡ P. 127.

Unitarian Tracts were not laymen ; and that it was a Clergyman, by whom the " Exceptions to Mr. Edwards's ' Causes of Atheism,' against ' The Reasonableness of Christianity,'" were " examin'd, and found unreasonable, and unscriptural, and injurious."

But there was another Clergyman, who took part in this important controversy, and had the courage to identify his own principles with those advanced by Mr. Locke in his " Reasonableness of Christianity." This was the Rev. Samuel Bolde, Rector of Steeple, in the Isle of Purbeck, who published " A Short Discourse of the true Knowledge of Christ Jesus: to which are added some Passages in the ' Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.,' and its ' Vindication ;' with some Animadversions on Mr. Edwards's Reflections on ' The Reasonableness of Christianity,' and on his Book, entituled, ' Socinianism Unmask'd.' London, 1697." In the " Short Discourse," which is from Phil. iii. 8, the author recommends in the warmest terms, Mr. Locke's design of uniting all Christians in one compact body ; and sharply rebukes those, who are opposed to that design, as unfolded in " The Reasonableness of Christianity." At the close of his " Animadversions," he says,* " In short, if the ' Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scripture,' doth merit no worse a character, on any other account, than it doth justly deserve, because it advanceth and so fully proveth this point, *That Christ and his Apostles did not propound any Articles as necessarily to be believed to make a man a Christian, but this,*

* Some Passages in the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c. p. 52.

That Jesus is the Christ, or Messias, I think it may with great justice be reputed one of the best books that hath been published for at least these sixteen hundred years." The liberality of Mr. Bolde stands out conspicuously in this, and all his other published writings;* and is the more praiseworthy, as there seems no ground for suspecting his orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity. The main points for which he contends are, that Christ and his Apostles required no further profession, than that Jesus was the Messiah; that the primitive Christians suffered solely on account of this profession, and not for their faith in any particular doctrines; and that it is antichristian to insist upon anything, as a part of the religion of Jesus, which Jesus himself has not authorized.

* This liberal clergyman was instituted Rector of Steeple, in the year 1682, and died in the month of August, 1737, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, having held the living fifty-six years. He was imprisoned in the reign of James the Second, for "A Sermon against Persecution," in favour of the French Refugees, from Gal. iv. 29 (1682, 4to.); and for his "Plea for Moderation towards Dissenters." (See Hutchins's "History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset; 2nd Ed.," Vol. I. p. 330.) He held the Vicarage of Shapwicke fourteen years; but either resigned it, or was ejected from it, in 1688. Besides the Discourses above mentioned, Mr. Bolde published one from 1 Pet. i. 15 (1675, 4to.), entitled, "Man's great Duty;" another from Rev. iii. 20 (1687, 12mo.); a third from Rom. viii. 18 (1689, 4to.), entitled, "An Exhortation to Charity;" and two on the Accession of George I., from Ps. cxxxvi. 23, and from Deut. xxxiii. 29 (1715-1716). In the Address to the Reader, prefixed to his Sermon for the benefit of the French Refugees, which was preached March 26th, 1682, he speaks of the Dissenters, with whom he has been acquainted, as "men of great learning, exemplary piety, strict devotion, and extraordinary loyalty; men who have been diligent attenders on God in his public ordinances, and eminently religious in their families;—that could not be justly blamed for anything, but that they had straiter notions concerning human impositions in the service of God than we Conformists have."

Mr. Edwards, whose pen was never dry, published, in the course of the same year, "THE SOCINIAN CREED, or a brief Account of the professed Tenents and Doctrines of the Foreign and English Socinians; wherein is shew'd the Tendency of them to Irreligion and Atheism, with proper Antidotes against them. London, 1697." After having "gone through the several particulars and members which make up the body of Socinianism," taking a little here, and a little there, from the writings of Socinus, Volkelius, Smalcus, Crellius, and others among the Polish Brethren, Mr Edwards proceeds* to give a summary view of the Socinian doctrines, in the form of a Creed; and for every separate article in this Creed he holds the whole body of English Unitarians responsible. But with just as much reason might any contemporaneous Unitarian writer have exhibited another Creed, as the Creed of Mr. Edwards and his party, made up of the heterogeneous mass of materials, supplied by the controversial writings of Drs. Wallis, Sherlock and South.

Considering the false medium, through which this Reverend Divine saw everything relating to the *doctrines* of the English Unitarians, he is probably not entitled to implicit credit in what he advances respecting their *practice*. In the course of his work, however, he has incidentally mentioned certain things respecting them, to which it may not be uninteresting to allude, and the truth of which there seems no particular reason to call in question. He tells us, for instance, that none of the English Unitarians in his time had "any set meetings for

* Chap. ix. pp. 207—212.

the propagating of their doctrine, as men of other persuasions" had; that there was "not so much as one single Meeting in the way of religion and worship upheld by the Socinians;"* but that they mixed with others, "and particularly sometimes with the Churches of the Conformists;" and that some of them had been, and still were "professed members of the Church of England."† From these statements it may be inferred, that the English Unitarians, in Mr. Edwards's time, consisted chiefly of members of the Established Church; but that they were occasionally found also in connexion with other religious bodies. Mr. Edwards further says, that, though they wrote in defence of their own opinions, yet they concealed their very names and persons; and that, notwithstanding their opposition to mysteries, they hid themselves in the clouds, and would not let the world know who they were. These practices he regards as proofs of their indifference, and of their want of true zeal in defence of their own cause.‡ "It is not only cowardice," says he, "but something of a worse nature that makes them thus mask themselves. These *Knights Errant* (who come not like those of old to do kindnesses to the distressed) will not vouchsafe to lift up the beavers of their helmets, and let us see who they are, because by this concealment they are able to do the greater mischief. They lie hid, and publish not their names, that thereby they may have the advantage of saying what they please, and aspersing whom they will with their audacious pens; that by this means they may have free liberty to disturb the

* Chap. viii. p. 180.

† P. 183.

‡ P. 184.

world, to unsettle men in their opinions, to beget disputes and wranglings, to bring in Scepticism and indifferency in religion, and at last Atheism." * How successfully the authors of the old Unitarian Tracts preserved their incognito, appears from Mr. Edwards's confession, that he was "a perfect stranger to them," and knew "nothing of the gentlemen but their books:" † and yet, if we may judge from the conjectures which he sometimes hazards, he was not a little curious to learn something more. "We are not sure," says he, ‡ "that some of those who go under the names of *English Socinians* are not foreigners. Is not Crellius's stock somewhere harbour'd among them? Have there not been strange outlandish books at the press of late? May we not suspect some Transylvanians and Polanders employ'd in the work lately? Are we not sure that there are some Irish as well as English engaged in the service? Why then are we nice in distinguishing, when they are not differenc'd as to their work and design?" By "Crellius's stock" we are probably to understand SAMUEL and PAUL CRELLIUS. Samuel published in London, 8vo., 1697, his "Faith of the Primitive Christians proved from Barnabas, Hermas, and Clemens Romanus," under the feigned name of *Lucas Mellierus*, in reply to Bishop Bull's "Defence of the Nicene Faith;" § and during his stay in this country visited Sir Isaac Newton, who made him a handsome present at his departure. By "strange outlandish books" is probably meant, books in a foreign or dead language. One of these

* P. 185.

† P. 187.

‡ Chap. ix. p. 214.

§ Vide *Art.* 358, No. 3.

books may have been Samuel Crellius's "Fides Primorum Christianorum," just mentioned. Another was probably the "Tractatus Tres," published in 1694-5, the last of which has been attributed, not without good reason, to Samuel Crellius.* The mention of "*Irish* as well as English," is probably an allusion to Mr. Molyneux, of Dublin, the active friend and correspondent of Mr. Locke.† In "The Socinian Creed," the author mentions "Mr. Lock" repeatedly by name, as the author of "The Reasonableness of Christianity;" and exults over him, because he has not replied to "Socinianism Unmask'd." He regards Mr. Locke's silence as a proof of inability to produce an effective defence of himself, and his opinions, from the charges brought against him. This roused the indignation of Mr. Locke, who lost no time in preparing, and publishing "A Second Vindication" of "The Reasonableness of Christianity," with a Preface to the Reader, including a letter, addressed to Mr. Bolde, explanatory of the origin of that excellent work.

At the commencement of this "Second Vindication," Mr. Locke says, "A cause that stands in need of falsehoods to support it, and an adversary that will make use of them, deserve nothing but contempt; which, I doubt not, but every considerate reader thought answer enough to 'Mr. Edwards's Socinianism Unmask'd.' But since, in his late 'Socinian Creed,' he says, 'I would have answered him if I could,' that the interest of Christianity may not suffer by my silence, nor the contemptibleness of

* Vide *Art.* 358, No. 2.

† *Locke's Familiar Letters*, 1708, 8vo. p. 216.

his treatise afford him matter of triumph amongst those who lay any weight on such boasting, 'tis fit it should be shewn what an arguer he is, and how well he deserves for his performance to be dubb'd, by himself, 'irrefragable.'"*

In the "Second," as in the First "Vindication," Mr. Locke indignantly repels the charge of appropriating to his own use the interpretations of Socinian authors. Of the writings of Socinus, Crellius and Schlichtingius, from which Mr. Edwards charges him with borrowing, he distinctly declares that he never read a page;† and he gives it, as the result of his observation upon the pending controversy, that "the Socinians themselves," who were most forward in the advocacy of free and unrestrained discussion, were as much wedded to their own orthodoxy, and as much bent upon making converts to their own peculiar views, as other men. "When 'tis observed," says he,‡ "how positive and eager they are in their disputes; how forward to have their interpretations of Scripture received for authentick, though to others, in several places, they seem very much strained; how impatient they are of contradiction; and with what disrespect and roughness they often treat their opposers; may it not be suspected, that this so visible a warmth in their present circumstances, and zeal for their orthodoxy, would (had they the power) work in them, as it does in others? They, in their turns, would, I fear, be ready with their set of fundamentals; which they would be as forward to impose on others,

* *Locke's Works*, Vol. II. p. 605.

† *Ibid.* pp. 658. 689.

‡ P. 656.

as others have been to impose contrary fundamentals on them."

In a Postscript to "The Socinian Creed," Mr. Edwards added some "Brief Reflections on a late Book, entituled, 'A Short Discourse of the True Knowledge of Christ Jesus, &c., by S. Bold, Rector of Steeple, Dorset.'" He reproaches Mr. B. for so far debasing himself, and the position which he holds in the Church, as to become "Mr. L.'s journeyman."* In reference to Mr. B.'s "Animadversions," he says, that Mr. Locke and his friends "have made a tool of Mr. B., and under the shelter of a Clergyman's name, have imposed their notions upon the reader."† "I have heard," says he,‡ "that these very objections and cavils which are here used were made use of by the party, and therefore it is probable that though they appear under the name of S. B., yet they might more truly have had J. L., or A. and J. C. prefix'd to them." Now "J. L." clearly denotes *John Locke*; and "A. and J. C." are the initials of *Awnsham and John Churchill*, Mr. Bolde's publishers, whom Mr. Edwards evidently suspected of having something more than a pecuniary interest in the publication of works such as those of Mr. Bolde, and other liberal theological writers of the day. This suspicion leads Mr. Edwards to remark, in another place,§ that when his eye caught the bottom of Mr. B.'s title-page, and he saw that the work "came from the lower end of Paternoster-Row," he "gather'd thence who had a hand in it."

In the course of the year 1697, Mr. Bolde de-

* The Socinian Creed, P. S. p. 245.

† P. 254.

‡ P. 251.

§ P. 239.

fended the view, which he had taken of "The Reasonableness of Christianity," in "A Reply to Mr. Edwards's 'Brief Reflections,' &c.," in the Preface to which "something is said concerning Reason and Antiquity in the chief Controversies with the Socinians." In the year following, Mr. B. published "Observations on the Animadversions (lately printed at Oxford) on a late Book, entitled, 'The Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures;'" with which he took his leave of this part of the controversy.

Among the opponents of Mr. Locke was Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, who charged him with heterodoxy, in "A Discourse in Vindication of the Trinity. London, 1697." To this charge Mr. Locke replied, in "A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Worcester;" and after the exchange of one or two other Letters, the controversy ceased in the year 1698. Mr. Bolde again took the part of his friend, Mr. Locke, in "Some Considerations on the Principal Objections and Arguments which have been published against Mr. L.'s 'Essay of Humane Understanding,' 1699;" and at a still later period he published "A Discourse concerning the Resurrection of the same Body: with two Letters concerning the necessary Immateriality of created thinking Substance. 1705." In the latter work he professes to consider what two or three authors have offered against certain passages in Mr. Locke's "Third Letter to the Bishop of Worcester." The whole of the works, written by Mr. Bolde in defence of Mr. Locke, form an octavo Volume, and were published in 1706, with the following general title.

“A Collection of Tracts, in Vindication of Mr. Lock’s ‘Reasonableness of Christianity, as deliver’d in the Scriptures;’ and of his ‘Essay concerning Humane Understanding, &c.: by Sa. Bolde, Rector of Steeple, Dorset.”

Having deviated from the chronological order of events, for the purpose of completing our review of the controversy, which arose out of the publication of “The Reasonableness of Christianity,” we must now return to the year 1695, in which Dr. Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, published, in 4to., “A Second Defence of the Propositions, by which the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is so explained, according to the ancient Fathers, as to speak it not contradictory to natural Reason, in Answer to a Socinian MS., in a Letter to a Friend ; together with a Third Defence of those Propositions, in Answer to the newly published Reflexions, contained in a Pamphlet, entitled, ‘A Letter to the Reverend Clergy of both Universities.’” This brought forth a “Reply” from the author of the manuscript, which occupies the fifth place in the “Third Collection of (Unitarian) Tracts,” and bears the following title. “A Reply to the Second Defence of the XXVIII Propositions, said to be wrote in Answer to a Socinian Manuscript, by the Author of that MS., no Socinian, but a Christian and Unitarian.” It is written in the epistolary form ; and though the person, to whom the author addresses it, is not named, the internal evidence is conclusive, as to its being Mr. Thomas Firmin. Bishop Fowler was one of Mr. Firmin’s most intimate and dearest friends ;* and it appears

* The Life of Thomas Firmin, p. 82.

that the manuscript was communicated to him by Mr. Firmin, with the author's consent. But the Bishop must either have violated the conditions on which it was entrusted to his perusal, or made such a use of it as he was not justified in doing, without the author's permission. This may be inferred from the commencement of the "Reply," which is as follows. "I now find by notice in the *Gazette*, that your learned and worthy friend, whose name you concealed from me, is the Lord Bishop of Gloucester. He has published an answer (which he calls, 'A Second Defence of his Propositions') to a private manuscript, which he calls *Socinian*: which MS., to excuse his not publishing it, he tells his reader he had returned to you, and had it not by him, nor a copy of it. He saith he collected the substance of it; I believe what he thought the substance; but how should the reader judge of that? since, as a great master tells us, the context, the style, and the phraseology of an author must be well considered by one that means to understand him perfectly. But it seems he was not willing to lose an opportunity to expose a heretick, tho' he strain'd civility in so doing." When the author consigned his manuscript to the hands of Mr. Firmin, he had but recently become acquainted with that gentleman. "My aim," says he,* "was only to let you (then my very new acquaintance) privately know my private judgment. I am none of your proselyte, nor no man's else. I profess sincerely, I fell into what I hold touching the Trinity, by freely thinking and seriously considering what I occasionally met with,

* Reply, &c. p. 23.

here and there, now and then." It appears from an expression, incidentally dropped by the author of the "Reply,"* that Mr. Firmin was beginning to grow weary of the "fruitless contention" about the Trinity; and this may have been a reason with him for requesting permission to lend the manuscript to his "learned and worthy friend," instead of advising its publication. Bishop Fowler published a third defence of his Twenty-eight Propositions, which was answered in a tract, entitled, "The Reflections on the 'XXVIII Propositions touching the Doctrine of the Trinity, in a Letter to the Clergy, &c.,' maintain'd, against the 'Third Defence' of the said Propositions. 1695." This answer occupies the fourth place in the "Third Collection of (Unitarian) Tracts," and contains a complete exposure of the weak arguments, and illogical deductions of the Bishop. Annexed to it, by way of Postscript, is a reply to Mr. Howe's short notice of the "Letter to the Clergy;" and the conclusion of this Postscript is well worthy of attention, on account of a very striking quotation from Athenagoras's "Apology for the Christians," addressed to Marcus Antoninus, which, as the author of the "Reflections" justly observes, is as conclusive against a plurality of divine natures, or essences, for which the Realists contend, as against a plurality of Gods. "Pray consider," says Athenagoras, "the reasons why we affirm, that from eternity there was but One God, the Creator of the universe. If from eternity there have been two or more Gods, either they are united in one and the same essence, or each

* P. 5.

of them has a distinct essence to himself. But for them to exist in one and the same essence, is impossible; for though they should be *one* in their denomination of gods, yet as begotten and unbegotten they must be different: seeing what is begotten resembles its parent, whereas the unbegotten is like nothing, being neither made of, nor for anything. But if it should be said that many gods are *one*, as the hand, foot and eye are but parts of the same body, Socrates will tell you, that what is compounded of, and divisible into parts, is both made and corruptible. But God is uncreated, impassible, and undivisible, therefore not consisting of parts. But if every one has a distinct existence, where shall the other or the rest be, whilst he that made this world surrounds and governs the creatures which he formed? If the architect of this earth (which is of a spherical figure, inclosed within the celestial orbs,) be over his works, and rule them by his Providence; what place shall we assign to another God? Not *in* this world, for it belongs to another; nor *over* the world, for he that made it, is above it: and if he be not in the world, nor over the world, where can he be above the world or God? Is it in another world? If so, then he is nothing to us that governs not our world; nor can his power be great, being confined to a certain place. If therefore he is neither in nor over this world, nor any other, (for there is no other, seeing all parts of the universe make but one world, whereof the entire extent is filled by its Maker) therefore he is nowhere, for there is no place for him. But supposing him somewhere, pray to what purpose? Plainly to none at

all, &c. It will be said, perhaps to provide for us; but certainly he cannot provide for those he has not made. It follows therefore that if he created nothing, nor provides, nor can be confined to a place; there is no other God at all, but one from eternity, the only Creator of the universe."*

Dr. South, who had long been silent, published, about this time, his "Tritheism charged upon Dr. Sherlock's new Notion of the Trinity, and the Charge made good. London, 1695," 4to. This work, like the "Animadversions," was anonymous. It contained a reply to Dr. Sherlock's "Defence," in answer to the "Animadversions;" but it has been observed, that, in this second work, as well as in the former one, the good sense, and great learning of Dr. South, are constantly made the dupes of his boundless and inexhaustible wit. Dr. Sherlock was unhappy in his matrimonial connexion; and to this untoward circumstance in his domestic history, Dr. South is said to have alluded in the following characteristic passage.† "The soul of Socrates, vitally joined with a female body, would certainly make a woman; and yet, according to this author's principle, (affirming that it is the soul only which makes the person,) Socrates, with such a change of body, would continue the same person, and consequently be the same Socrates still. And in like manner for Xantippe, the conjunction of her soul with another sex, would certainly make the whole

* Reflections on the XXVIII Propositions, &c. P. S. pp. 35, 36. Athenag. Legatio pro Christianis, Colon. 1686, pp. 8, 9.

† Tritheism charged upon Dr. Sherlock's new Notion of the Trinity, &c. p. 129.

compound a man, and nevertheless Xantippe would continue the same person, and the same Xantippe still ; save only, I confess, that upon such exchange of bodies with her husband Socrates, she would have more right to *wear the breeches* than she had before."

Immediately after this second work of Dr. South had issued from the press, appeared a defence of Dr. Sherlock, bearing the following title. "Reflexions on the good Temper and fair Dealing of the Animadverter upon Dr. Sherlock's 'Vindication of the Holy Trinity;' with a Postscript concerning a late Book, entituled, 'Tritheism charged upon Dr. Sherlock's new Notion of the Trinity:' in a Letter to a Friend. London, 1695." These "Reflections" were anonymous ; but the author was a Trinitarian, and a zealous defender of the Dean of St. Paul's. In the opening paragraph of his pamphlet, he expresses his surprise, that Dr. South's "Animadversions" had been allowed to remain "without any full and particular rebuke" to the time of his writing ; and alludes to an intimation, which he had received from the friend, to whom he addressed his "Reflexions," that the Doctor was "about to offer new occasion to increase" his "concern and wonder." While the "Reflexions" were passing through the printer's hands, this "new occasion for concern and wonder" made its appearance ; and the author, in a Postscript, says, "I had the charity to believe there might be, after all, something of the gentleman remaining in him ; and therefore was inclined to think that, at least, some part of this book, that of it which is so abominably gross, was writ by another hand. But they who pretend to know him, say 'tis

no such matter ; book and dedication, reasoning and railing, elegancy and oyster-wife rhetoric, 'tis all his own."*

The Church of England, at the time of which we are now writing, contained within its own bosom, as it probably does still, Trinitarians of every possible shade of opinion, from the highest form of Tritheism to the lowest form of Sabellianism ; and the author of the " Reflexions " above noticed, was by no means singular in his advocacy of the extreme views of Dr. Sherlock. " If," says another contemporaneous author,† " we will say the truth, Dr. Sherlock was no more overseen in this Explication of the Trinity, than the principal Divines and Preachers at London, and in both Universities." Among the " Divines and Preachers " here alluded to, was the Rev. Joseph Bingham, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford, who afterwards attained to great eminence, as a writer on " Ecclesiastical Antiquities." This Clergyman, on the 28th of October, 1695, (the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude,) delivered a sermon before the University, in which he openly defended the scheme of Dr. Sherlock ; asserting, " that there are three infinite, distinct minds and substances in the Trinity," and " that the three persons of the Trinity are three distinct infinite minds or spirits, and three individual substances." At this undisguised Tritheism, the friends of Dr. South took the alarm ; and on the 25th of November, in the same year, the subjoined Decree was passed in Convocation, censuring this doctrine

* Reflexions, &c. P. S. p. 31.

† An Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, p. 53.

as false, impious and heretical ; at variance with, and contrary to, the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and especially to the commonly-received doctrine of the English Church ; and prohibiting all persons, connected with the University of Oxford, from inculcating any such doctrine, by preaching or otherwise.

“ In Conventu D. Vice-Cancellarii et Præfectorum Collegiorum et Aularum Universitatis Oxon. Die vicesimo quinto Novembris, A.D. 1695.

“ Cum in Concione nuper habitâ coram Universitate Oxon. in Templo S. Petri in Oriente, ad Festum SS. Simonis et Judæ proximè elapsam, hæc Verba, inter alia, publicè prolata et asserta fuerunt, viz. [There are Three Infinite distinct Minds and Substances in the Trinity]. Item [That the Three Persons in the Trinity are Three distinct Infinite Minds or Spirits, and Three Individual Substances]. Quæ Verba multis justam offensionis Causam et Scandalum dedêre :

“ Dominus Vice-Cancellarius et Præfecti Collegiorum et Aularum, in generali suo Conventu jam congregati, Judicant, Declarant, et Decernunt prædicta Verba esse *Falsa, Impia, et Heretica* ; Dissona et Contraria Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, et speciatim Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, publicè receptæ.

“ Quapropter præcipiunt et firmiter injungunt Omnibus et Singulis, eorum fidei et curæ commissis, ne tale aliquod Dogma, in Concionibus, aut aliàs, in posterum proferant.

“ Ex Decreto Domini Vice-Cancellarii et Præfectorum.

“ BEN. COOPER, *Not. publicus*
et Registrarius Universitatis Oxon.”

The effects of this Decree upon the clergy were perfectly electrical. The Doctor's former abettors began to desert him in great numbers, and he was left almost alone. They said that Universities seldom speak in an authoritative tone; but that, when they do, it is always to some purpose. The very same Clergymen, Dignitaries, and even Bishops, who had before cried up the Dean's sentiments as orthodox, and boasted of his writings as unanswerable, now charged him with heresy, and were among the foremost to justify the issuing of the Oxford Decree. A new light seemed to have burst in upon their minds; and Dr. Sherlock, who had before received the homage of multitudes of admiring votaries, was suddenly deprived of his oracular dignity, and pronounced to be only one degree higher, in the scale of Orthodoxy, than Valentine Gentilis himself.

The order of events now requires, that we should notice, among other things, the last two in the "Third Collection of (Unitarian) Tracts," both of which were printed before the end of the year 1695.

The former of these, which is the seventh in the volume, and which Dr. Allix erroneously attributed to the Rev. Stephen Nye, is entitled, "The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, opposed to Dr. G. Bull's 'Defence of the Nicene Faith.' Part I. The Doctrine of the Catholic Church, during the first 150 Years of Christianity, &c. London, 1695." When this was written, Dr. Bull's "*Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*" had been published about ten years; and during that time it had remained without any answer. This was doubt-

less owing to the circumstance of its being written in Latin, which would necessarily limit its circulation, and confine the perusal of it to the learned few. It seems, indeed, to have been better known among the continental Divines than those of our own country. But the Doctor published another work, in the same language, A.D. 1694, entitled, "*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ trium primorum Seculorum de Necessitate credendi quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus sit Verus Deus;*" and as the attention of the religious world was at that time particularly excited by the controversy between Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South, this became better known, and consequently obtained a larger number of readers, than the more voluminous work, containing a Defence of the Nicene Faith.

The "*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*" may be regarded as supplementary to the "*Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*," and was indeed so intended by the author himself;* for as the latter was written in defence of the doctrine contained in the Nicene Creed, so the former was expressly designed as a vindication of the Anathema attached to that Creed, which is as follows. "Those who say 'there was a time when he [the Son] was not,' or 'before he was born he was not,' or 'he was made out of things which are not,' or 'he is of another substance or essence;' and those who maintain that the Son of God is either created, or convertible, or changeable; these the Catholic and Apostolic Church denounces and anathematizes."

Dr. Bull had been reading that part of Episco-

* *Præmonitio ad Lectorem.*

pius's "*Institutiones Theologicæ*,"* in which he treats upon the necessity of believing the manner of the divine filiation of Jesus Christ, and puts the question, "Whether the fifth (and highest) manner of Christ's being the Son of God be necessary to be known and believed; and whether they who deny the same are to be excommunicated and anathematized?"† He says, that he penned some observations upon this subject for his own private use, or rather sketched the outline of a reply to the arguments, by which that learned Divine had endeavoured to prove, that the article concerning the divine generation of the Son of God, our Saviour, from God the Father before the ages, was by no means held, in the primitive Churches, to be one, the belief of which was necessary to salvation; and, therefore, that these Churches cultivated fellowship with those persons, who not only denied this article, but believed and taught, that Christ was a mere man, who did not exist before the Blessed Mary. At the request of some friends, as he informs the reader, he was prevailed upon to fill up the outline which he had drawn, so as to produce what appeared to him a clear refutation of the opinion of Episcopius, from the testimonies of the primitive Fathers, and from Ecclesiastical History. But in publishing this work, he professes to have had a particular view to the numerous writings, which had been put forth by the Unitarians of his own times, whom he describes as "nefarious men, who have endeavoured with all their might to destroy and overturn the principal

* Lib. iv. C. xxxiv. S. ii.

† Nelson's Life of Bp. Bull, Sect. lxvi.

doctrine of our faith, on which Christianity hinges, some of them impudently defending the Arian, and others the Samosatenian blasphemy.* He comforts himself, however, with the reflection, that these writings have been answered by some of his pious and learned countrymen;† but laments, that a class of men have sprung up in the mean time, who, in the capacity of mediators, have attempted to reconcile and unite the Catholic Church with heretics, parties which, as he says, are as widely separated from each other as God and Belial.‡ From such choice expressions as these, one is almost tempted to think, that Dr. Bull wrote in Latin, because he could indulge more easily in the language of vituperation, and employ epithets, which would scarcely have been tolerated in his mother-tongue. We cannot wonder, therefore, that the author of "The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity," which was written principally in opposition to his first and largest work on the Nicene Faith, should treat him with less ceremony, and less respect, than his high position, and eminent attainments might otherwise have demanded.

"It remains only," says the writer alluded to, in the conclusion of a reply extending over 78 quarto pages, "that I inform the reader, who hath not seen Dr. Bull's books, why I have answer'd so indifferently, and without any particular deference to the merit of his learning and abilities: for it cannot be denied, that this gentleman is a dexterous sophister; or that he has read the principal Fathers with a more than ordinary application, diligence

* *Præmonitio ad Lectorem.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

and observation. Dr. Bull has written two books, his 'Defence of the Nicene Faith,' and 'Judgment of the Catholic Church,' designedly and directly against the Unitarians, whether they be Arians or Socinians. In the first of these he attacks more particularly Chr. Sandius, a very learned Arian; and the author of 'Irenicum Irenicorum,' who was D. Zwicker, M.D., a Socinian. Dr. Zwicker is complimented by Dr. Bull with such flowers as these; 'bipedum ineptissimus,' the greatest fop in nature: 'omnium odio, qui veritatem et candorem amant, dignus;' deserving of the hatred of all lovers of truth and sincerity. Of Sandius he saith, 'he hath shipwreck'd his conscience, as well as his faith; a trifler, a mere (empty) pretender:' he adds, at p. 331, 'he hath only transcribed the author of *Iren. Irenicorum*;' and in one place, he prays for Sandius as one that is mad. This, and such as this, is Dr. Bull's constant language concerning these two very learned men: nor doth he ever reply to them without pretending an absolute and incontestable victory; and casting some most unworthy scorn or other upon them by occasion of his supposed advantage. He never calls *the Arians* by any other name than 'Ariomanitæ,' *the mad Arians*; and *Socinianism* is always with him, 'the Atheistical heresy;' I do not remember that he ever calls our doctrine by a better name. In short, he hath expressed such a malevolence, and hath so notoriously and infamously broken the cartel of honour, and civility, that was thought to be agreed and establish'd between persons of excellent learning, or great abilities, when they happen to be engaged in contrary sides, that no

respect or tenderness can be shewn to him by any Unitarian. His barbarities and immanities towards a person so little deserving such usage, and so much above Mr. Bull in all regards, as Sandius was; and his arrogance towards, and (hare-brain'd) contempt of all Unitarians, whether ancient or modern; I say, his temerity and extravagance, in this kind, is so excessive, or rather is so outrageous, that he hath left to himself no manner of right or claim to the very least degree of humanity or good manners towards him."*

The author of "The Judgment of the Fathers," in noticing the design, with which Dr. Bull wrote his "*Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*," exposes a very common fallacy, which runs through it, and vitiates all its reasonings. The Doctor professes to shew,† "that the *approved* Fathers and Teachers of the Church, who flourished before the Council of Nice, from the very age of the Apostles, *unanimously* taught the self-same thing, (although perhaps sometimes in other words, and with a different phraseology,) as the Nicene Fathers have determined, concerning the divinity of the Son, against Arius and other heretics." From these few words, the reader may see at once, what he has to expect from Dr. Bull. "The *approved* Fathers and Teachers of the Church" being, in Dr. Bull's estimation, those, and those only, who favour the doctrine embodied in the Nicene Creed, none but such as are agreeable to this doctrine are allowed to be "*approved* Fathers

* The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, pp. 76, 77.

† Proœm. § 9.

and Teachers;” and among these, Dr. Bull boasts that the most perfect “unanimity” prevails! But let us hear what the author of “The Judgment of the Fathers” has to say of this boasted “unanimity” of Dr. Bull’s “*Patres et Doctores probati*.”

“Taking care, as he does, to limit himself to the *approved* Doctors and Fathers; who is so dull (does Mr. Bull think?) as not to understand, that no Father or Doctor shall be allowed this (new and rare) title of *Doctor probatus*,—*approved Doctor*,—if Mr. Bull and he cannot accord about the Nicene Faith? What if an Arian or Socinian should make the like (impertinent) proposal, even to shew that all the *approved* Doctors and Fathers before the Nicene Council did agree with Arius or Socinus; would it not be laugh’d at? For would not the reader reply immediately, that this (insidious) word *approved* makes his attempt to be of no use at all; because he will be sure *not to approve* any Doctor or Father, who is not of the party of Socinus or Arius. Therefore, if Dr. Bull would have spoke to the purpose, he should have said simply, that *all* the Ante-nicene Fathers or Doctors were of the same mind with the Doctors and Fathers in the Nicene Council, in the question of our Saviour’s divinity: this had come up to the famous *κρίθιον*, or rule of orthodoxy and truth, suggested first by Vincentius, and approved by all parties,—*quod ab omnibus, quod ubique, id demum Catholicum est*; i. e. that which *all* the ancient Doctors have taught, and in *all* places, is Catholic and fundamental. But Mr. Bull durst not pretend to *all* the Doctors and Fathers before the Nicene Council; but only to

certain *approved* Fathers and Writers among them, about 20 among upwards of 200. The reason is evident; he foresaw, that we should presently mind him of Theodotion, Symmachus, Paulus Patriarch of Antioch, Theodotus of Byzantium, Appollonides, Hermophilus, Lucianus; the authors of the Apostolical Constitutions and of the Recognitions; of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, who published a book with this title, *περὶ κρίσεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ*, *Of the Creation and Birth of Christ*: not to mention here the Nazarens or Ebionites, who inhabited Judea, Galilee, Moab, the most part of Syria, and a great part of Arabia; or the Mineans, who had their Synagogues or Churches (says St. Jerom, *Epist. ad August.*) over all Asia; or the 15 first Bishops of Jerusalem. * * * Of the whole Unitarian party in general, it is noted in Eusebius, that they were learned in Logick, Natural Philosophy, Geometry, Physick, and the other liberal sciences; and, 'tis there (ridiculously) imputed to them as a fault, that they excelled in secular learning; and (much more ridiculously) that they were great criticks, and extremely curious in procuring correct copies of the Bible. *Euseb.* l. 5. c. 28. * * * Furthermore, Dr. Bull appeals here to *the approved* Doctors and Fathers; but it appears that he would have it thought, that besides the 20 Fathers (or thereabouts) whom he has cited, those Fathers also whose works are (so unhappily) lost, were no less orthodox (as 'tis called) in this question about our Saviour's divinity. But the criticks, who have written sincerely and impartially concerning the Fathers, are of opinion, that whereas there are now lost about 200, for

(some) 20 Ante-nicene Writers and Fathers, who have been preserved, we are to impute this loss to the errors contained in their books; more plainly, to their too manifest agreement with the Arian and Minean (now called the Socinian) heresies.”*

About the same time with “The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity,” appeared three treatises in Latin, bearing the following titles. I. “Ante-Nicenismus, sive Testimonia Patrum, qui scripserunt ante Concilium Nicenum, unde colligi potest Sensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, quoad Articulum de Trinitate.” II. “Brevis Responsio ad Domini D. Georgii Bulli Defensionem Synodi Nicenæ: in quâ Præcipua Capita Defensionis refutantur.” III. “Vera et antiqua Fides de Divinitate Christi asserta, contra D. D. G. Bulli *Judicium Ecclesiæ*, &c. per Anonymum.” These were printed together, so as to form a small volume of 184 pages, under the general title, “Tractatus Tres,” &c. In the first of them, as the title imports, we are presented with a list of Testimonies from the Fathers, who wrote before the Nicene Council; and the author undertakes to collect from these Testimonies the sense of the Catholic Church respecting the Trinity, during the first three centuries. It bears the imprint, “Cosmopoli, Anno 1694.” The second contains a short answer to Dr. Bull’s “Defensio Synodi Nicenæ,” and a refutation of the principal heads of that work. It was printed in 1695; but the title-page does not state by whom, or where. Both these have been attributed to Gilbert Clerke, and are announced as his in the gene-

* The Judgment of the Fathers, &c. § i. pp. 3—5.

ral title-page.* Nor is there any good reason to doubt, that they were written by him; although Walchius informs us, that there were those, who believed them to have been the production of Samuel Crellius, who was most probably the author of the third.†

One of the latest of the controversial publications of the year 1695, (the last, indeed, of that year, which we shall notice, as well as the last in the "Third Collection of Tracts,") is entitled, "A Discourse concerning the Nominal and Real Trinitarians." Its object is to shew, that there is a clear line of demarcation between these two classes of Trinitarian believers; that the Nominalists, who are properly the Church, since they form the large majority of its members, are, in truth, neither more nor less than Unitarians in disguise; and that the Realists, who constitute a very small minority, must be content to be set down as believers in three distinct Gods. He endeavours to establish the claim of the Nominalists to be considered the true Church, by shewing, *first*, that their doctrine was recognized, in the most ample manner, and the most express terms, by the General Council assembled at the Latran, in 1215; and *secondly*, that Divinity Professors, and all writers, whether of controversy or systems, have uniformly followed the doctrine so recognized. He next assigns the reason why the Nominalists are so called; and points out the substantial agreement of their doctrine with that of the Unitarians, although disguised by the use of a number of obsolete terms and phrases. After this, he explains, in a separate

* Vide *Art.* 351, Nos. 5 and 6.

† Vide *Art.* 358, No. 2.

Section, the doctrines of the ancient Nominalists, or the Noëtians and Sabellians; and, after a brief recapitulation, proceeds, in the five following Sections, to substantiate the charge of Tritheism against the Realists. In the concluding Section, he makes it his object to shew, that the doctrine of the Unitarians is essentially the same as that of the Nominalists; only that the Unitarians express themselves in plainer, and more intelligible terms, and go to the point in a more direct and straight-forward manner. His recapitulation respecting the Nominalist scheme is as follows.

“They all agree, that the three persons of God are not *subsisting persons*; they are not so many distinct lives, understandings, wills, or energies, which (together with a particular substance) make *a subsisting person*, and if they are *more than one*, they make *so many* physical real or subsisting persons: no, they are persons in a quite different sense from that vulgar acceptation of the word *persons*. They are either *three attributes of God*; Goodness, Wisdom and Power: or *three external acts*; Creation, Redemption and Sanctification: or two *internal acts* of the *subsisting person* of the Father; that is to say, the Father, *understanding* and *willing* himself and his own perfections: or *three internal relations*; that is, three relations of God to himself; namely, the divine substance or Godhead, considered as unbegotten, begotten and proceeding: or *three names* of God, ascribed to him by the Holy Scriptures, because he is *the Father* of all things, by Creation; and because he did inhabit and operate (after an extraordinary and miraculous manner) in the person

of the man Christ Jesus, who was verily *the Son* of God, by his wonderful manner of conception; and (last of all) because he effecteth all things (more especially our sanctification) by his *Spirit*, which is to say, his energy or power."*

In conclusion, he says, with reference to such terms as *Trinity*, *Incarnation*, and *Hypostatical Union*,—"But I must do the Church this right to confess, that most of her greatest men, particularly the first Reformers, have published to all the world their hearty desire, that all these terms of the Realists were abolished, and all were obliged to use the Scripture-language and words only; which would heal all our breaches, and perfectly restore our peace, not only in this, but in (almost) all other questions and strifes. Let us hear, of so many as might be alledged, Dr. M. Luther and Mr. J. Calvin.—M. Luther complains, 'the word *Trinity* sounds oddly: it were better to call Almighty God, *God*, than *Trinity*.' Postil. Major Dominic.—Mr. Calvin is yet less pleased with these kind of terms; he says, 'I like not this prayer, *O Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity*. It savours of barbarity;—the word *Trinity* is barbarous, insipid, profane, an human invention, grounded on no testimony of God's word, the Popish God, unknown to the Prophets and Apostles.' Admon. i., ad Polon."†

Soon after the issuing of the Oxford Decree, which condemned the doctrine advanced by Mr. Bingham, in his Discourse before the University, that Decree

* A Discourse concerning the Nominal and Real Trinitarians, p. 18.

† Ibid. p. 40.

appeared in the weekly newspapers, with a Postscript, in which it was stated, that the doctrine thus censured was that, which Dr. Sherlock had so pertinaciously defended. The Doctor, in his own defence, published "A Modest Examination of the Authorities and Reasons of the late Decree of the Vice-Chancellor, and some Heads of Colleges and Halls, concerning the Heresy of three distinct infinite Minds in the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity." In this "Examination," which made its appearance very early in the year 1696, the author reiterates, with confidence, his former assertions; contending, that what the Oxford Heads have condemned, as heretical and impious, is the very Catholic Faith, and that their Decree, or Declaration, censures the Nicene Faith, and the Faith of the Church of England, as heresy, and exposes both to the scorn and triumph of the Socinians.* Nay, he adds, that "three divine persons who are not three distinct minds and substances, is not greater heresy, than 'tis nonsense."†

This vindication of himself, and his favourite doctrine, satisfied no one; and to many it gave great offence. Some of Dr. Sherlock's most zealous adversaries hesitated not to express their opinion, that his book, in which he had subverted, as far as lay in his power, the primary article of the Christian Faith, afforded ample ground for summoning a convocation. But the Doctor persisted in saying, that he was sure he was in the right.‡

* A Modest Examination, &c. p. 46.

† An Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, pp. 55, 56.

‡ Ibid. pp. 56, 57.

The "Modest Examination" called forth several replies. One was entitled, "An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Examination of the Oxford Decree; London, 1696:" another, "Remarks upon a Book lately published by Dr. William Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, &c., intituled, 'A Modest Examination of the Oxford Decree, &c.:' Oxford, 1696:" and a third, "Decreti Oxoniensis Vindicatio in Tribus ad Modestum ejusdem Examinatorem, Modestioribus Epistolis, a Theologo Transmarino: excusa Anno Domini 1696." All these replies were published anonymously, and in the usual size, which was small quarto. The second was attributed to Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, who afterwards printed, with his name, "A Preservative against Socinianism," which is almost as notorious for its violence and scurrility, as the attacks of his namesake, John Edwards, upon the author of "The Reasonableness of Christianity." The last of the above-mentioned replies to Dr. Sherlock, written in Latin, is dated "Uni-trino-poli, 13 cal. Mart. 1696." There were doubtless others, of which no record has been preserved; for the question excited as much discussion among Churchmen in those days, as Tractarianism has done in our own. But the controversy was conducted in such a bitter spirit on both sides, that the King at length interposed between the contending parties, and issued "Directions to the Archbishops and Bishops, for the preserving of Unity in the Church, and the Support of the Christian Faith concerning the Holy Trinity."*

* Biog. Brit. Art. SHERLOCK. *Walchii* Bibl. Theol. Sel. Tom. II. p. 973.

These "Directions" were drawn up by Dr. Tension, who then presided over the Province of Canterbury, and were dated Feb. 3rd, 1695 [for 1696].* They ordered, "That no Preacher whatsoever, in his sermon or lecture, should presume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the Blessed Trinity, than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and is agreeable to the three Creeds, and the thirty-nine Articles of Religion:" and "That in the explication of this doctrine, they should carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themselves to such ways of explication as have been commonly used in the Church."† The attention of the clergy was particularly directed to the fifty-third Canon, which prohibits public opposition between Preachers, and bitter invectives and scurrilous language against all persons. An observance of these rules was also enjoined upon all, who wrote on the disputed questions, whether Clergymen or laymen.‡

The tone of these injunctions was sufficiently peremptory; and they had the intended effect. The public saw no more defences of Tritheism: but after the awkward position, in which Dr. Sherlock had placed himself, and the bold and confident air, which he had assumed, on the promulgation of the Oxford Decree, he excited the surprise of some, and the disgust of others, by the manner in which he backed out of the controversy. He continued, as before, to bid defiance to all his opponents, and had not the

* *Toulmin's Hist. View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England, &c.* Chap. ii. Sect. ii. p. 183. *Biog. Brit. Art.* SHERLOCK, Note cc.

† *Toulmin's H. V.* ubi supra.

‡ *Ibid.*

manliness to own, that he had been in the wrong; but in the midst of this senseless bravado, he gave up all the leading points, for which he had before contended, and settled down into a good, orthodox Churchman.

In 1696, the Rev. H. De Luzancy, B.D., published, in 8vo., a series of four letters, professing to have been "written at the request of a Socinian gentleman," and containing a review of the Trinitarian Controversy, under the title of "Remarks on several late Writings, publish'd in English by the Socinians, wherein is shew'd the Insufficiency and Weakness of their Answers to the Texts brought against them by the Orthodox. London, 1696." At the commencement of the Preface, the author says, "The design of the following Letters was to instruct a private gentleman, who, by reading Socinian books, had got a mighty prejudice against the sacred doctrines of the Holy Trinity and Incarnation. He desir'd that he might have the liberty to communicate my papers to some of his friends of that persuasion. But this being liable to many inconveniences, it was thought much better at once to expose them to public view." In the concluding paragraph of the Preface the reader is told, that "whatsoever is in these papers is with the humblest submission offer'd to the judgment and censure of the Church of England." In speaking of the writers of the Unitarian Tracts, the author says,* "As to their abilities, their greatest enemies must confess, that they are not ordinary. They are men of learning: their stile is correct, exact and florid.

* Remarks on several late Writings, &c. p. 2.

They have the misfortune of Origen, of whom an ancient said, that 'Ubi bene, nemo melius, ubi male, nemo pejus.' None can do better where they are in the right: none worse, where they are wrong.—I find also that sometimes those fine pens are dipped in gall; that they are not sparing of the sharpest invectives; and that laying aside their fine and gentleman-like way of writing, they become mortals again, and grow acquainted with all sorts of sarcasms." Judging from the name of the author of these "Four Letters," and from the designation of "MONSIEUR De Luzancy," which is usually given to him by contemporaneous writers, it would seem probable, that he was a French refugee. He describes himself, indeed, in the title-page of his book, as "Vicar of Doverc.[ourt] and Harwich:" but there were, at that time, among the French Protestants, who had found an asylum from persecution in England, several who conformed, and some who took episcopal orders, and became beneficed Clergymen of the Church of England. Mr. De Luzancy, like many others, regarded the controversy between the Unitarians and "the Orthodox" as at an end; but as many shots, which tell effectively against the enemy, are often fired at the close of an engagement, so it happened in this case. About the time that Mr. De Luzancy's "Remarks" appeared, the public were favoured with a tract from the pen of a Unitarian writer, entitled, "The Judgment of a disinterested Person concerning the Controversy about the Blessed Trinity, depending between Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock:" 4to.* It contained a fair and

* *Nelson's Life of Bull*, Sect. lxi. p. 341.

candid statement of the arguments in defence of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Godhead of the Saviour, which had been brought forward, by learned and approved writers, in different ages of the Christian Church, and especially of those, which had been sanctioned by the decisions of General Councils. The author distinctly proved, by a close and connected chain of reasoning, that three infinite spiritual Substances, or three eternal and all-perfect Beings, Minds or Spirits, must be regarded, by all who understand the use of language, as three Gods; and as Dr. Sherlock and Mr. Bingham had asserted, and contended for the existence of three such Substances, Beings, Minds or Spirits, he argued, that the framers of the Oxford Decree acted rightly, in censuring this doctrine, as Tritheism. But he treated Dr. Sherlock with respect, and gave him credit for being actuated by a sincere desire of supporting what he conceived to be the truth. The unpardonable offence, however, had been committed, of questioning the oracular authority of the Dean of St. Paul's; and whatever provocations that learned dignitary might put up with from a brother Trinitarian, his proud spirit could not brook the idea of being convicted of mistake by a Socinian, much less of being excused on the score of ignorance of a subject, upon which he had volunteered to instruct others. In a very short time, therefore, he sent forth an angry reply, in a work, entitled, "The Distinction between Real and Nominal Trinitarians examined, in Answer to a Socinian Pamphlet. 1696," 4to.

The Socinian pamphleteer, as the reader will be

prepared to expect, from what has been already said, is not treated with much civility. His competency to act the part of umpire, between two such renowned champions as Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock, is rudely questioned; and he is attacked, with a degree of virulence, which could hardly have been surpassed, if he had aimed a deadly blow at the tenderest part of the Dean's reputation. But notwithstanding the bad spirit which the book evinces, and the unscrupulous manner in which its author attacks the reasons advanced by his Socinian censor, it is in this very book, that we catch the first glimpses of a return to a sounder state of mind. It is here that we discover the earliest traces of a disposition to re-consider, and modify the strong assertions, contained in his former controversial writings.

The Dean admits, that the phrases, "three Minds," "three Spirits," and "three Substances," ought to be used very cautiously, and not without great necessity; and that they are liable to a very heretical sense.* He says, that Father, Son and Spirit are τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα, one and the same substance.† In an earlier stage of the controversy, however, he had peremptorily denied this; and even in his "Modest Examination," which was scarcely dry from the press, he had not scrupled to designate it both "heresy" and "nonsense."

He says, again, "The Socinians will grant that one Divinity is but one God: and the reason why they assert that *one God is but one Person*, is, be-

* The Distinction between Real and Nominal Trinitarians, pp. 6 and 14.

† P. 36.

cause they think it impossible the same *undivided* Divinity should subsist *distinctly* in three Persons. But then, before they had charged the faith of the Trinity with Tritheism, they should have remembered, that the Persons of the Trinity are not three *such* Persons as *their* one Person is, whom they call one God: and therefore, tho' three *such* Persons, three such Minds, Spirits and Substances, as *their* one Person and one Spirit is, (who is the whole Divinity confined to one single Person,) would indeed be three Gods; yet three *such* Persons as the Catholic Church owns, who are all *the same one Substance*, are not three Gods."* Had Dr. Sherlock written thus in the first instance, he would not have exposed himself to the severe and biting sarcasms of Dr. South; and would have escaped the well-merited castigation, which he received at the hands of his Unitarian opponents.

The contest between these two angry polemics was now virtually at an end; for Dr. Sherlock had conceded the main point in dispute.

During the heat of the battle, Dr. Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter-House, published his "*Archæologia Philosophica*," in which he impugned the divine authority of the Old Testament. This work gave great offence to the orthodox clergy, and led to the author's removal from the office of Clerk of the Royal Closet, to which he had been appointed through the interest of Archbishop Tillotson.† This incident, together with the dispute between *Dean* Sherlock and *Prebendary* South, fur-

* Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, p. 61.

† Biog. Brit. *Art.* BURNET (THOMAS).

nished materials for the following humorous ballad, composed at the time by one Mr. Pittis, and entitled,

THE BATTLE ROYAL.

(To the Tune of "A Soldier and a Sailor.")

A Dean and Prebendary—Had once a new vagary;
And were at doubtful strife, Sir,—Who led the better life, Sir,
And was the better man.
The Dean, he said, that truly—Since BLUFF was so unruly,
He'd prove it to his face, Sir,—That he had the most grace, Sir,
And so the fight began.

When PREB. replied, like thunder,—And roar'd out 'twas no wonder,
Since Gods the Dean had three, Sir,—And more by two than he, Sir,
For he had got but one.

Now, while these two were raging,—And in dispute engaging,
The Master of the CHARTER—Said both had caught a tartar,
For Gods, Sir, there were none:—

That all the books of Moses—Were nothing but supposes;
That he deserved rebuke, Sir,—Who wrote the Pentateuch, Sir;
'Twas nothing but a sham.
That as for Father Adam,—With Mrs. Eve, his madam,
And what the serpent spoke, Sir,—'Twas nothing but a joke, Sir,
And well-invented flam.

Thus in the BATTLE ROYAL,—As none could take denial,
The dame for which they strove, Sir,—Could neither of them love, Sir,
Since all had giv'n offence.
She therefore, slyly waiting,—Left all THREE FOOLS a prating;
And being in a fright, Sir,—RELIGION took her flight, Sir,
And ne'er was heard of since.

The popularity of this jeu d'esprit was very great. Besides being translated into several modern languages, it was honoured with a poetical version into Latin by one of the wits of Cambridge, and its author received presents from several of the nobility and gentry. Its chief claim to attention was founded in the ludicrous associations which it awakened, at the expense of certain learned and grave Divines.

This was its object, and in the attainment of that object, it must be confessed, the author was eminently successful. Others, however, were disposed to treat the heresy of Dean Sherlock more seriously; and would have rejoiced to see him coerced, and silenced, by the strong hand of the civil power. A broad hint to this effect was given in "A Short History of Valentine Gentilis the Tritheist, tried, condemned, and put to Death by the Protestant Reformed City and Church of Bern in Switzerland, for asserting the Three Divine Persons of the Trinity to be [*Three Distinct, Eternal Spirits, &c.*]. Wrote in Latin, by Benedict Aretius, a Divine of that Church; and now translated into English for the Use of Dr. Sherlock: humbly tendered to the Consideration of the Arch-bishops and Bishops of this Church and Kingdom. London, 1696," 12mo. Subjoined to the translation is a copy of the Oxford Decree of Nov. 25th, 1695, respecting the sermon preached by the Rev. J. Bingham, on the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude; and the doctrine contained in this sermon, and that for which Gentilis suffered death, the translator pronounces to be "in sense perfectly the same."

The controversy was now beginning to produce its natural effect upon the public mind; and fears were entertained in some quarters, lest the doctrine of the Trinity should fall into disrepute among the lower orders, and the Churches and Meeting-houses throughout the kingdom should be generally infected by the pestilent heresy of Socinianism. Strenuous efforts were made, therefore, to prevent it from spreading any further; but opinions differed,

as to the most effectual means of checking the progress of the contagion. Some thought that the press was the only legitimate instrument, which could be employed for this purpose. Others were of opinion, that a vigilant enforcement of the existing laws would be sufficient to check the growing evil. A few of the more bigoted, who are generally the most clamorous, and who sometimes contrive to bring about, by means of agitation, that which they would in vain have attempted to accomplish by argument and persuasion, contended that the object in view could not be attained, except through the medium of some new penal enactment.

But the fears, which had been excited, respecting the issue of this controversy, as regards the main body of Churchmen and Dissenters, proved groundless. The storm, indeed, had raged with great violence, but, like many others both before and since, it left the fabric of the Establishment untouched; and the mass of the laity still continued to frequent their respective places of worship, whether in or out of the Church, as though nothing had happened to throw a shade of doubt over the correctness of their creed. A leaven, however, was introduced into the religious society of England, which soon affected the mass; and a change came over some of the more eminent Divines of the Church of England, and the Presbyterian Dissenters, the effects of which extended through the whole of the eighteenth century. To this may, in a great measure, be attributed the controversies, which subsequently arose between the Arians and Trinitarians, in the bosom of the Church; and the enlarged spirit

of free inquiry among the clergy, which the publication of Dr. Samuel Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," in 1712, contributed not a little to extend. To the same cause we may also trace the increasing opposition of a large section of the Presbyterian body to creeds, and doctrinal tests of all kinds, which shewed itself, in an unmistakeable manner, in the Exeter and Salters'-Hall controversies, about seven years later. "The principle thus maintained by the Presbyterians of England," says the learned author of "Historical Illustrations and Proofs of the Appellants' Case" in the celebrated Lady Hewley Suit,* "was not a singular principle; nor that of a few heated, extravagant, uninformed, and thoughtless, or even sober and speculative but peculiar persons. It was a grave and long considered principle, which was adopted by the whole body, and on reflection and deliberation, and which they held conjointly with a large body of members of the Church of England, both then and in the subsequent generations."

Upon the views of Dr. Sherlock, as we have already seen, the controversy between himself and Dr. South had a marked effect; but he never could forgive the Unitarians, for the part which they had taken in that controversy, and the searching investigations to which they had subjected his productions, as they severally made their appearance. In 1697, he published a Sermon on "The Danger of corrupting Faith by Philosophy," in which he in-

* In the House of Lords. Between Samuel Shore and others, Appellants; and the Attorney-General on the relation of Thomas Wilson and others, Respondents. London, 1837, Fol. p. 41.

veighed, with much bitterness, against the Unitarians, whose heresy, he contended, like all other heresies, had its "rise and strength from philosophy and reason." Against these he declaimed in much the same strain as an over-zealous Catholic might be expected to do, against those, who reject the doctrine of Transubstantiation. His Sermon had not been long before the public, when it was attacked by one of Mr. Firmin's friends, in some "Remarks," entitled, "The Doctrine of the Catholick Church, and of the Church of England, concerning the Blessed Trinity, explained and asserted, against the dangerous Heterodoxes, in a Sermon by Dr. William Sherlock, before my Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen. London, 1697," 4to. The author, after a few suitable remarks, by way of introduction, gives an abstract, or summary of this Sermon, the doctrines which it sets forth, and the reasonings by which those doctrines are defended. He proves, that neither the Scriptures themselves, nor anything else, which is communicated to us through the medium of spoken or written language, can be properly understood, without the aid of philosophy and reason; and that *reason*, which is nothing but common sense, and *philosophy*, which is only another name for experimental knowledge, are necessary to enable us to judge when a book speaks figuratively and popularly, and when strictly, grammatically and literally.

In reply to this anonymous author, Dr. Sherlock felt himself called upon to publish a "Vindication" of his "Sermon," in which he complained, that he had been misrepresented; and stated, that it was

not his intention to speak against philosophy and reason, but only against what "some men call philosophy and reason," and against "vain pretences to reason and philosophy."* But in this "Vindication" he utterly failed to prove, that the author of the "Remarks" had misunderstood, or misrepresented the purport of his Sermon, the title of which was, "The Danger of corrupting Religion by Philosophy,"—not by pretences to Philosophy. It is much more to our present purpose, however, to shew what modification the views of Dr. Sherlock had undergone, on the main subject of the controversy; and on this point there can be no doubt. He disowns the expression "three infinite Minds and Spirits," as inappropriate, because capable of being interpreted heretically; and admits, that such an expression ought not to be used in an absolute, but only in a qualified and restricted sense.† Yet who does not see, that this refinement was an afterthought, forced upon him by his Unitarian opponents?‡

The Doctor, however, could not rest satisfied, without adding "more last words." This he did, in his "Present State of the Socinian Controversy," which is not only a much larger work than either of his previous apologetical, or explanatory ones, but more express and direct against the heresy of "three infinite, eternal Minds, Spirits, Beings or Substances." It is also written in a much calmer, and more subdued tone. The author of "An Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion" placed before his readers

* Vindication, &c. p. 5.

† Sermon, p. 3.

‡ An Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, pp. 63—68.

a brief view of the doctrine of this remarkable book, under distinct heads; that every one might see how entirely Dr. Sherlock had changed his opinions, after the censure passed upon them by the University of Oxford, and the refutation which they had experienced at the hands of the Unitarians.

"Let us put together," says he,* "this whole reformed doctrine, about the divine Persons. They are not distinct Beings, Natures, Substances, Minds or Spirits; but only personal properties, or distinct relations in the same singular nature. Would you know the mystery more particularly, what you are to understand by personal properties, and distinct relations, in the same singular nature, or essence? The Doctor will not be difficult, or reserved in the matter; he answers, The Persons, personal properties, or distinct relations, are the divine essence (or substance) unbegotten, and communicated by generation and procession; that is, begotten and proceeding. Do you except against it, or make doubt, that relations, personal properties, unbegotten, begotten and proceeding, are properly called *Persons*, or may have the names of Father, Son, and Spirit? He will deliver you from your scruples: he wisely minds you, that we must of necessity use such words as we have; and regulate or qualify their sense, as well as we can. In two words, he saith: The divine *Persons* are so called, because we must use such words as we have; and because they have *some* likeness to Persons of the created nature: but in truth they are only personal properties, or distinct relations, of the same singular nature,

* An Account of Mr. Firmin's Religion, pp. 72—74.

namely, of the Divinity. Or if you had rather, they are the divine essence, or Divinity, considered as unbegotten, begotten and proceeding. This is a true and exact abridgment of his large book. * * * In eight years time, this fierce opposer of the Unitarians has (with much to do) learned, that the Trinity is not three Minds, Spirits or Substances, but three internal relations, three personal properties of the Divinity: in eight more, it may be, he will understand, that those are good Catholics, and orthodox Christians, who reject no other Trinity but of distinct Substances, Spirits or Minds."

Mr. Firmin's constitution, which had been much weakened by his active exertions in the cause of suffering humanity, at length failed him; and on the 20th of December, 1697, he died, after a short illness. By his death, the Unitarian cause lost its main spring of action. He is generally supposed to have prepared, and set in motion the machinery, by which the three Volumes of Tracts were produced, of which so copious an account has been given in this Introduction; and it was probably at his expense, that they were published in a collective form. A fourth Volume appeared some years after his death; but it does not exhibit, in its typography, or general character, the same unity of purpose as the three preceding ones. The plan of the present work, however, would be incomplete, without some notice of its contents; and its great rarity, in comparison with the three preceding Volumes, renders it desirable, that this notice should be more minute in its details, than might otherwise have been deemed necessary. The general title prefixed to it

is, "A Fourth Collection of Tracts, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c., the Titles whereof are in the next Leaf." It is without date; there is no printer's or publisher's name; nor is the place of publication specified. In pages iii and iv a Table of Contents is given, of which the following is an exact copy.

"The Titles of the several Tracts contain'd in this Volume.

"The Divine Unity once more asserted; or some Considerations tending to prove, that God is but one single Being, &c. In 24 pages.

"Reformation in worshipping of God requir'd, according to the Means afforded of a clearer Knowledge of the Divine Will. In 8 pages.

"Platonism Unveil'd, or an Essay concerning the Notions and Opinions of Plato, and some antient and modern Divines his Followers; in relation to the Logos, or Word in particular, and the Doctrine of the Trinity in general. In two Parts.

In 139 pages.

"An Apology for the Parliament, representing to Mr. J. Gailhard some Reasons, why they did not enact Sanguinary Laws, &c. In 43 pages.

"Remarks on Dr. Sherlock's Sermon, of the Danger of corrupting the Faith by Philosophy.

In 29 pages.

"Mr. Emlin's Case, in relation to the Differences between him and some Dissenting Ministers of Dublin. In 4 pages.

"Two Treatises concerning the Trinity, &c. I. An humble Enquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ; or a short Argument concerning his

Deity and Glory, according to the Gospel. In 22 pages.—II. An Answer thereunto, or a Resolution of the Objections against the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity. In 27 pages.

“A sober Expostulation with the Gentlemen of Mr. Emlin’s Juries at Dublin. In 8 pages.

“The Excellency of Reason demonstrated, in some short Remarks on Mr. Young’s two Discourses, intituled, The Wisdom of Believing. In 11 pages.

“The Excellency of Human Understanding, an Argument that the regular Use of Reason is not contrary to the Veneration due to Holy Scripture, &c. In answer to the Censure of the Remarks on Mr. Young’s two Discourses. In 25 pages.

“The Scripturalists Christian Condescension considered. In 8 pag.”*

It has been said, that title-pages, and tables of contents, were printed, and prefixed to two other Collections of Tracts, so as to form a fifth and a sixth Volume; but as no copy of these has ever fallen under the notice of the present writer, or of any friends with whom he has conversed upon the subject, it is presumed, either that the statement has no foundation in truth, or that the volumes referred to are unique, and were not published in the proper sense of that term, but prepared at the individual cost of the parties, by whom they were collected

* The copy of the “Fourth Collection of Tracts,” from which the above description is taken, was formerly in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Toulmin. (See Mon. Rep. Vol. VIII. pp. 445—447.) It is now the property of the Rev. John Kentish, and for the loan of it, as well as for other valuable aid of a similar kind, derived, at different times, from Mr. Kentish’s library, the author begs to tender his best thanks.

and arranged. At the same time, it is well known to those, who are conversant with this species of literature, that the number of tracts published by Unitarians, and having a connexion more or less remote with the controversy between Sherlock and South, was sufficient to have filled, not one or two only, but several Volumes, in addition to those of which an account has already been given.*

With the Volume containing the "Fourth Collection of Tracts," are bound up several other detached pieces, which were published, from time to time, at the close of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century. These have no general title-page, to connect them with the four preceding Volumes. The earliest date, (1690,) is prefixed to the eighteenth of these tracts, entitled, "The Naked Gospel:" the latest, (1708,) occurs in the title-page of the thirteenth tract, which contains "An Examination of Mr. Leslie's Last Dialogue, relating to the Satisfaction of Jesus Christ; together with some Remarks on Dr. Stillingfleet's 'True Reasons of Christ's Sufferings.' London." But there is one tract, possessing great interest, in connexion with the subject of this Introduction, which did not find its way into the volume now under consideration. It was entitled, "The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy concerning the Unity of God, &c., the Methods by which it has been managed, and the Means to compose it: by a Divine of the Church of England. London, 1698." This tract is a quarto, consisting of 53 pages; and as it

* For further particulars respecting these tracts, the reader may consult APPENDIX, No. xxiii.

is seldom met with, an abstract of its contents may not prove unacceptable to the reader.

The author proposes to consider, "*first*, what has raised the disputes at present agitated among us: *secondly*, what has enflamed them to that dangerous excess, which in time 'tis feared may disturb the public quiet: *thirdly*, what is the proper way to remedy the mischiefs which have happened, and prevent further."

He refers the disputes in question to a variety of causes; and, as far as the Unitarians themselves are concerned, thinks it probable, that they have been induced to engage in them, out of an aversion from taking things upon trust, an honest desire to be serviceable to the Church, and a zeal to defend its doctrines against the heathenish interpretations of some eminent, unwary Tritheists. Of another division of the disputants he says, that they are all in open profession with the Church of England, and most of them bonâ-fide members of that Church, who have opposed the Unitarians, without properly understanding them; and most of whom differ from the Unitarians, only in the use of certain scholastic terms and phrases. The opponents of the Unitarians he comprises under the general distinction of Nominalists and Realists; the former of whom, he admits, properly belong to the Church, while he hesitates not to call the latter mere Heathens, and Polytheists. Both these classes of professed Trinitarians, as he infers from their writings, were induced to engage in the controversy by a profound regard for authority, by a feeling of dislike to all innovations in religion, and by a sincere desire to

vindicate the Christian religion, the main foundation of which they ignorantly thought that the Unitarians were undermining, and labouring to subvert. In order to remove the suspicions, which some of the Nominalists entertained of the Unitarians, he proposes to consider,* “first, what manner of persons those are who of late have been distinguished by the name of *Unitarian*; secondly, what is the tendency of their doctrines.” Under the former of these heads he shews, that the opinions charged upon the Unitarians may be traced up to the times, closely bordering upon the apostolic age, and that a great majority of Christian professors who held them were accounted orthodox. They deemed it a reproach, however, to be called, *Ebionites*, *Alogians*, *Arians*, *Photinians*, or indeed anything but *Christians*; and were willing to be tried by the Apostles’ Creed, and the Holy Scriptures. The favourite term of reproach, when the author wrote, was *Socinian*: but though the Unitarians thought honourably of Socinus, they did not espouse his whole scheme, or any part of it, merely because it was his. In alluding to those, who, in and near his own time, were known by the name of *Unitarians*, our author particularly mentions John Biddle, Mr. Cooper, John Knowles, Mr. Gilbert Clerke, Mr. Noual, and Mr. Thomas Firmin, and of each of these excellent men he proceeds to give some account.† He then replies to the objection, that they withdrew from the communion of the Church

* The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy concerning the Unity of God, &c. p. 13.

† Ibid. pp. 15—21.

of England, and formed separate religious assemblies, so as to invalidate, and even destroy their claim to be regarded as orthodox Churchmen. He says, that the deceased Unitarians, whose names he had mentioned, probably separated, as far as they did separate, (on which subject he professes himself not to be clearly informed,) in order that they might not appear to profess a Tritheistic Trinity; that there may be a conscientious separation from the Church, by men who agree with her in doctrinal points, as in the case of the Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists; and that the Unitarians, who were living at the time in which he wrote, being at length satisfied, after a full investigation of the subject, that the majority of Church theologians meant, by the scholastic terms which they retained, only a *nominal* Trinity, and as they had publicly professed their agreement with the Church of England, on this and other disputed articles, they were therefore to be regarded as sound and orthodox members of that Church.* Having replied to two other objections, charging the earlier publications of the English Unitarians with containing something very much like formal opposition to the Articles of the Church, and blaming them for having first excited such a controversy in the Church, and then representing it as little more than a mere dispute about words,—he goes on to shew, that the Unitarians defend their doctrines from the imputation of mischievous consequences, or tendencies, first, by ingenuously, carefully and largely explaining their views respecting those articles, which they

* Pp. 21, 22

were charged with denying, or expounding amiss ; and secondly, by endeavouring to make it appear, that they have no particular private opinions about matters commonly held necessary to salvation, different from those of the Church of England. Under the latter of these two heads, the writer expresses himself as follows.* “ I do profess that I much fear the Unitarians may have private opinions about articles commonly held necessary to salvation, different from the opinions of the compilers of the 39 Articles, and from the grammatical literal sense of those Articles ; for through them, as also through our Homilies, there runs a vein of that scheme, which at this day is called Calvinism. But the grammatical literal sense of our Articles and Homilies are fall'n into the hands of governing Bishops, Deans and Doctors, and governed inferiour Priests and Deacons ; of whom a vast majority [as appears by their prints and daily sermons] expound them very widely different from the grammatical literal sense, intended by the first compilers. Words and phrases have nothing in their own nature, which can fix them to this or that particular sense. It is common consent and way of speaking which appropriates them, and therefore our Articles and Homilies, which once held forth some of the Predestinarian rigors for the doctrine of the Church, are not to be suppos'd to teach the same still, now that the consent of our Church runs so strongly another way. Possibly the Unitarians have not Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley on their side, in points now controverted ; but in them, and all other necessary

* Pp. 29, 30.

articles, they have the Reverend Bishops of Worcester and Sarum, Dr. South, and Mr. Edwards with them. Indeed, if those Bishops and Doctors should neither be the Church, nor conjoin'd with enough to make a majority, which must be the Church, the Lord have mercy upon the Unitarians; for who is it that indulges his brother a due liberty of conscience, but when he needs it himself? But the Bishops and Doctors aforesaid being conjoin'd with an uncontestable majority, the Unitarians have nothing more to do, to prove that they have no particular private opinions about matters commonly held necessary to salvation, but to shew their agreement with those Bishops and Doctors; or, which is much the same thing, the agreement of those Bishops and Doctors with them. Now this has been amply and fairly done by an Unitarian, I know not whom, he being a perfect stranger to me; but it matters not much who he is, whether a Transmarine, or Cismarine Divine, or no Divine at all.*

When our author has concluded his remarks respecting the causes of the Unitarian controversy, he proceeds, in the second place, to consider what has enflamed the existing disputes to that dangerous excess, which in time may disturb the public peace. Here he lays it down as an evident, and generally acknowledged truth, "that it is always a vice, more or less artificially conceal'd, which prompts religious

* The publication here alluded to is one, bearing the following title. "The Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholick Church; being also a full Answer to the Infamations of Mr. Edwards, and the needless Exceptions of my Lords the Bishops of Chichester, Worcester and Sarum, and of Monsieur Luzancy Printed in the year MDCXCVII." 4to.

disputants to fight the Lord's battles with angry noise, and fiery words, and flaming censures, that thunder and lightning of theirs, which does more mischief than all the artillery of Nature." He then inquires, "Whether the Unitarians, or their adversaries, or both, have manag'd their disputes with any of these unjust, and unbecoming methods?" He admits, that the Unitarians have, in some cases, resorted to ridicule, in their mode of conducting the controversy, and particularly in their attacks upon the opinions of the Realists; but he denies that the two tracts, entitled, "Considerations of the Explifications," &c., are open to the charge of transgressing the fair rules of religious controversy. On the contrary, he regards these tracts as "models of elegant, proper and decent writing in the controversial way."* There are two things, however, in which he says, that he cannot excuse the Unitarians. "The first is a piece of rashness and indiscretion; the second, a trespass against a distinguishing precept of the Christian religion." Under the former of these heads, he blames them for ridiculing the scholastic and unscriptural terms of the Nominalists, to which, for the sake of peace, they nevertheless acknowledged that they could submit. He observes, that they could not expect these terms to be laid aside, merely to suit their convenience. "The trespass against a distinguishing precept of the Christian religion," of which he thinks the Unitarians to be in some measure guilty, "is, that when they have been odiously misrepresented, foully

* Grounds and Occasions, &c. p. 43.

calumniated, maliciously expos'd, haughtily insulted, rated, revil'd, and censur'd, by this and t'other adversary, better skill'd at libelling than Logick, they have not taken it with all the compos'd firmness of mind, with all the steady patience which the commands of the Holy Gospel requir'd, and the example of their blessed Master made practicable; but when they have been barbarously us'd, have answer'd angrily again. It's true," he continues, "the worst returns that they have made, compar'd with what they have suffer'd, may seem perfect courtship; but if they had never been mov'd from an even Christian temper, when all manner of evil was spoke against them without just cause, their labours would have gain'd a still higher esteem, and perhaps have been handed down to late posterity, as the most absolute patterns of a dexterous and able, pertinent, close, and just management of controversy."* One exception, however, he makes to the general treatment, which the Unitarians received at the hands of their adversaries. Bad as this was in many cases, he hesitates not to single out Mr. Edwards, as having "distinguish'd himself by peculiar Antichristian excesses;" and therefore, in the chastisement which he inflicts upon this incorrigible offender against the rules of Christian propriety, he does not spare the rod. Upon the learning of those Trinitarians, who took part in the controversy, he passes a deserved encomium; but he remarks, with great truth, that their learning was often the means of involving them in "such confusion, that tho' you may perceive whom they

* Grounds and Occasions, &c. pp. 45, 46.

love, and whom they hate, yet you cannot easily divine what opinions they are for or against."

The proper remedy for the evils, which had sprung out of the Unitarian controversy, and the means of checking those evils, form the third and last head of discussion. This subject is treated with an abundance of sarcastic humour. The author concludes, that, if the Unitarians were to be silenced by the strong hand of the law, or voluntarily to withdraw from the controversy, that controversy would be carried on, in the bosom of the Church itself, with as much vigour as ever. Dr. Sherlock would never forgive Dr. South; nor Dr. South, Dr. Sherlock. The Nominalists would not quit the field, till they had run down the Tritheists; and the Tritheists, with their last breath, would revile the Nominalists, as *Sabellians* and *Socinians*. The matter, in short, came to this,—that, if the Church would have no war without her pale, she must have one within. "Wherefore," says our author, "I would advise every one to make living like a good Christian his business now, and never be troubled at the disputes which are stirring, of which there's like to be no end, let the present disputants that have the worst on't, by reason of their inferior numbers, be run down, hang'd, or burnt, or not."*

This curious and interesting tract concludes with a recommendation to the Unitarians to discontinue the controversy. "I know," says the author,† "they are men of conscience, and have, within the bounds of moderation, been zealous for the truth, but that

* P. 52.

† P. 53.

will not suffer, though they are silent: the learned and excellent Bishops of Worcester and Sarum, Dr. South and others, are able and forward enough to defend it against all the heathenish opposition of the Tritheistic tribe."

Before this Introduction is brought to a close, the author will perhaps be pardoned, notwithstanding the length to which it has already grown, if he ventures to call the reader's notice to one of the last controversial works, published at the close of the seventeenth century, which has been thought by many to have given a death-blow to the cause of Unitarianism, but which is known, by all well-informed persons, to have been cried up far beyond its real merits. This work was entitled, "The Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians, in the Controversy upon the Holy Trinity, and the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour; with a Table of Matters, and a Table of Texts of Scripture occasionally explained: by a Divine of the Church of England. London, 1699," 8vo. This Quixotic attempt to Trinitarianize the Disciples of Moses, was the production of the Rev. Peter Allix, D.D., whose name is inserted in the title-page of the second edition, printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1821. Its avowed object was to shew, that the Unitarians were chargeable with gross error, in asserting, that the doctrine of the Trinity owed its origin to the school of Theology, of which Justin Martyr was the founder; and to prove that the Ancient Jewish Church held essentially the same views respecting the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Messiah, as those which are entertained by

orthodox Christians in modern times. If this were the proper place for entering upon a consideration of the subject, it might be satisfactorily shewn, that the work of Dr. Allix abounds in the most palpable fallacies, which vitiate the whole of his argument; and more particularly, that he has committed the gross and unpardonable blunder, of treating the later Targums as of the same authority with the earlier ones, and of putting Pseudo-Jonathan upon a par with Onkelos.* But as this Introduction does not profess to enter on the subject of theological controversy, it will be more to our present purpose to state, what kind of reception Dr. Allix's labours met with among his contemporaries, than to enter into a formal refutation of his arguments.

The work is too well known to require any lengthened description. It is divided into twenty-seven Chapters, in the first of which the author unfolds his design, and enumerates the matters, upon which he proposes to treat. In doing this, he refers to the Unitarians of his own time, and says, "Mr. N., one of their ablest men, having read Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, in which Trypho says, that he did not believe that the Messiah was to be other than man, makes use of this passage of Trypho to prove, that the doctrines of the Divinity of the Messiah, and by consequence of the Trinity,

* The reader, who feels interested in inquiries of this nature, may consult two papers in the "Christian Reformer" for 1836, (Vol. III. N. S. pp. 445—452. 521—527,) entitled, "The Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ illustrated from the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan;" and a series of articles in Dr. F. R. Lees's "Truth-Seeker," on the question, "Did the Synagogue ever teach a Trinity?"

were never acknowledged by the Jews. This he does in a book, the title whereof is, *The Judgment of the Fathers against Dr. Bull.*" The book here referred to is the seventh in the "Third Collection of [Unitarian] Tracts," of which some account has been given in a former part of this Introduction.* It is written with great ability; and, what is not a little singular, the main position of the author, that the Jews in our Saviour's time expected their Messiah to be nothing more than man, is precisely that which now obtains, among the ablest advocates of the Trinitarian doctrine. The Rev. W. Wilson, B.D., author of "*An Illustration of the Method of explaining the New Testament by the early Opinions of Jews and Christians concerning Christ: Cambridge, 1797;*" pronounces Dr. Allix's scheme *visionary*. "Rittangelius and Snelnecker," says he, "were among the first, if they were not the very first, authors of this visionary scheme; which has since received much celebrity from the ingenious pen of Allix."†

The gentleman alluded to, as one of the "ablest men" of the Unitarian party, was the Rev. Stephen Nye, a Clergyman of the Church of England, who felt it to be his duty to defend himself against the attack of Dr. Allix. In the course of his defence, he avows his motive for the unceremonious manner in which he has treated the Doctor; and as this leads him to make some remarks upon the authorship of the Unitarian Tracts, the curious reader may be interested to see in what terms this avowal

* Vide pp. 331—339.

† Illustrations, &c. Chap. iv. § ii. p. 79.

is made. "If," says Mr. Nye,* "I have not here answered with all the respect and tenderness that I would, the Doctor is to thank himself for it, as having given a provocation that could not be dissembled. He has now written two books, one after another, professedly against Mr. N., imputing to him several books, that were written not by Mr. N., but by Mr. S.,† and some others I could name, as has been all along known to several gentlemen, and to some booksellers; and at the time that Dr. A. published the *Judgment*, it was so commonly known, that his forwardness and rashness in libelling and delating Mr. N. to the whole nation, and to his superiors, as the undoubted author of them, admits no excuse. Of so many, eminent for learning and dignity, as have written against those books; though without doubt they had heard the cackle of report, concerning Mr. N. and other reputed authors of Mr. *Firmin's* prints, as well as Dr. A.; yet in their answers, none of them charged those books on Mr. N., or the other supposed writers, *save only this stranger*; who of a *Refugee* for religion, was not ashamed to turn *Informer*. He that will take on him the infamous character of an *Informer*, is ready without doubt to go much farther, if circumstances and opportunity invite him. Every body knows what *Name* is intended by Mr. N. Should not an advised and an honest man have first enquired, whether

* The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the Manner of our Saviour's Divinity; as they are asserted to be held in the Catholic Church, and the Church of England, &c.; in several Letters to a Peer: by Stephen Nye, Rector of Hormead. London, 1701, p. 164.

† Qu. *Smalbroke*? Vide *Christian Reformer* for May, 1845, p. 290.

there be not more persons of that name; that if perhaps there be, he might avoid doing wrong to innocent persons, by an indefinite, uncertain signification, what particular person he meant? When those books to which Dr. A. points were written, there were no fewer than three Mr. N.'s Clergymen, all of them beneficed within forty miles of London, and two of them acquaintances of Mr. *Firmin*. The Informant therefore should have some way notified, which of the Mr. N.'s he intended to accuse, and wished to see a public sacrifice. I can tell him, there are divers witnesses amongst the Socinians themselves, that will at any time assure Dr. A. or any other, that neither of the Mr. N.'s, friends of Mr. *Firmin*, were ever in the sentiments of *Socinus*. Though it be true also, that they disapproved, and opposed the Tritheism of some modern writers, that contended for a Trinity of distinct (infinite) *Beings*, *Minds*, and *Spirits*, which might bring on them the imputation of Socinianism, with a great number of other foolish calumnies, from their adversaries, or from the Tritheistic party.—But when such an imputation or report was up: I pray how would it recommend the books of Dr. A. to tell every body (or the whole nation) that they are written against Mr. N., more than if he had said, they are written against some anonymous pamphlets, that are gotten into too much credit and reputation?—I have heard it confidently reported, that Dr. A. himself is author of one of Mr. *Firmin*'s principal books: *The Defence of the Brief History of the Unitarians*: and some gentlemen of his nation (Refugees also for religion) say, Dr. A. was always reputed a *Sabellian*. I be-

lieved both these reports, and so did many others: he has convinced me by the *Judgment*, it was a slander, or at best a mistake; for he is a Tritheist. It will be a new warning to *me*, and ought to be to *him*, not to publish flying reports, for certain News; especially to a whole nation, and to the possible prejudice of persons who never wronged me.”*

That rumours affecting the orthodoxy of Dr. Allix should have arisen, and reached the ears of Mr. Nye, will not appear at all surprising to any one, who is acquainted with the history of those times. The French Protestant Church at Canterbury contained many members, who had embraced Unitarian sentiments; but they were induced, by the fear of excommunication, with which they were threatened by the Presbyterian Synod, to make an outward profession of conformity to the Church of England, and to receive the sacrament in their parish Church. Among them were some, whose names have been preserved; as Stephen Du Thoy, Claude Rondeau, and Dr. Simon. But some not only professed themselves members of the Established Church, by subscribing and taking the oaths, but were beneficed by His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such were the Rev. Jacques Rondeau, and M. Souverain. On the other hand, there were those among the French Protestants, who were perseveringly active in their attempts to check the progress of Unitarianism, by invoking the aid of the ecclesiastical tribunals. These zealots, in conjunction with some of the episcopal clergy, contrived

* Biographia Britannica, 2nd Ed. Vol. I. p. 161, *Art.* ALLIX.

to render the situation of the above two gentlemen, who had taken episcopal orders, a very uneasy one; and ultimately compelled them, through fear of the Archbishop's censure, to appear before the Civil Magistrates, and, in the capacity of Dissenters, to take refuge under the Toleration Act.*

The attempts to evade the law in this, and in other cases, proving successful, loud complaints were made, by some of the bigots of the day, that the existing statutes were inadequate to accomplish the purpose for which they were framed. Repeated calls were therefore made upon the government and legislature, to pass some more stringent law, which should have the effect of silencing the Unitarians, by closing the press against them, and inflicting summary punishment upon any one, who should, either by writing or printing, impugn the doctrine of the Trinity.

One of the most zealous of those, who urged the passing of such a law, was a lay gentleman, of the name of John Gailhard, who, in the year 1697, published an octavo volume of 344 pages, entitled, "The Blasphemous Socinian Heresie disproved and confuted, wherein the doctrinal and controversial Parts of those Points are handled, and the Adversaries' Scripture and School-Arguments answered; with Animadversions upon a late Book called, 'Christianity not Mysterious;' humbly dedicated to both Houses of Parliament." The virulent spirit, in which this work was written, will be sufficiently apparent from the following extract, which is taken

* Monthly Repository, Vol. V. (1810) p. 241, and Ref.

from the first page of the author's Preface. "In commendation of the Parliament of Scotland, I must take notice of the Act which in one of their last Sessions was passed there against Blasphemy, whereby not only they ratified the Twenty-First of the first Session of Charles II., but also enacted farther, that whosoever in discourse or writing shall deny, quarrel, argue or reason against the Being of a God, or any of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, or against the authority of the Holy Scripture, or Providence of God in governing the world, shall for the first time be imprisoned till he hath in publick acknowledged the offence: for the second offence, imprisoned, and a fine besides; and for the third, death, as obstinate blasphemers. For indeed, *Blasphemy* and *Idolatry*, by God's express command, ought to be destroyed out of the land."

That these Acts of the Scottish Parliament were not allowed to remain a dead letter, we have a melancholy proof, in the case of a young man, of the name of Thomas Aikenhead, who was indicted under them; and, a verdict of *Guilty* being returned, was sentenced to death, and executed.

In the "State Trials,"* there is a full account of the proceedings against this unfortunate youth, taken from the Records of Justiciary in Edinburgh, and certain Manuscripts, the property of Lord King. These Manuscripts, for the use of which the editor of the "State Trials" acknowledges himself indebted to His Lordship, appear to have belonged to Mr.

* A Complete Collection of State Trials from the earliest Period to the Year 1783, in 21 volumes. London, 1816, Vol. XIII. pp. 918—939.

Locke. That great man, in a letter to Sir Francis Masham, dated London, Feb. 27th, 1696-7, alludes to these two Acts, under which Aikenhead might have been indicted. One of them was passed in the year 1661,* and consisted of two articles. By the former of these articles, railing upon, or cursing God, or any of the persons of the Trinity, was made punishable by death; and by the latter, denying God, or any of the persons of the Trinity, and obstinately continuing therein, was made subject to the same punishment. The other of the two Acts, alluded to by Mr. Locke, was passed about two years before the execution of Aikenhead, and was the 11th of Tweeddale's Session of Parliament. This, according to Mr. Locke, was obtained by trick and surprise. It ratifies the former Act, and adds, that "Whether by writing or discourse, to deny, impugn, querrell, argue, or reason against the Being of God, or any of the persons of the Trinity, or the authority of the Scriptures, or a Providence, is for the first fault punishable with imprisonment, till they retract in sackcloth in the Church; for the second, with imprisonment, and a year's rent till as in the first case; and for the third, they are to die as obstinate blasphemers."

Now it is plain, as Mr. Locke observes, that Aikenhead must have died under the former of these two Acts; because it was his first offence, as he pleaded in his petition "unto the Rt. Hon. the Lord Justice General, Justice Clerk, and remanent Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Justiciary." Besides, that he retracted, is evident from his speech,

* Act 24, Parl. 1, Sess. 1, Charles II.

and his letter to his friends, dated January 8th, 1697, the day of his execution ; which legally freed him from the penalty of death, according to the second article of the first Act. But no evidence was adduced of his " railing upon, and cursing God, or any of the persons of the Trinity," except that of Mungo Craig, in which he was said to have called " the Books of the New Testament ' the books of the impostor Jesus Christ,' " and to have done it " in a scorning and jeering manner." Aikenhead, in his speech, admitted many of the charges against him ; but denied the truth of Craig's evidence. It seems probable, too, that this Craig was the person, who first perverted his mind, and gave him the books, which led him to speak, and act as he did.

In the report of the legal proceedings, the prisoner is described as " Thomas Aikenhead, sone of the deceast James Aikenhead, chirurgeon, in Edinburgh, prisoner in the Tolbuith thereof." The indictment was preferred at the instance of Sir James Stewart, His Majesty's Advocate, and by special order of the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council. It charged the prisoner, among other things, with having for more than a twelvemonth past, at different times, made it his business, in several companies, to vent his wicked blasphemies against God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and against the Holy Scriptures, and all revealed religion ; and with having rejected the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, as not worth any man's refutation, and having scoffed at the mystery of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, affirming blasphemously, that *Theänthropos* was as great a contradiction as *Hircus Cervus*, or *Quadra-*

tum rotundum. But in his petition to the Court of Justiciary, before his trial, although he admits much of what was charged against him, he absolutely denies, that the expressions, contained in the indictment, were uttered by him in the terms libelled; or at least, that they were ever spoken by him, as his own private opinions, or sentiments. The proceedings, however, were not stayed. Five of the persons, who had been summoned as jurymen, refused to attend; and were fined one hundred marks each. But a jury was at length formed, and the depositions of the witnesses were produced by His Majesty's Advocate. The names and descriptions of the witnesses, as given in the several depositions, were *Adam Mitchell*, student of Edinburgh, aged twenty, and unmarried; *John Neilsone*, writer in Edinburgh, aged near twenty, and also unmarried; *Patrick Midletoune*, student at the College in Edinburgh, aged twenty, and unmarried; and *Mungo Craig*, student in Edinburgh, aged twenty-one, and unmarried. *John Potter*, a youth of eighteen, was also sworn, but deposed, "*nihil novit.*"

The trial took place on the 23rd of December, 1696; and the verdict was as follows.

"The Assyse having elected and chosen George Clerk, late baillie, their chancellor; and Adam Brown, their clerk, doe unanimously find it proven that the pannell, Thomas Aikenhead, has railled against the first persone, and also cursed and railled against our blessed Lord the second persone of the Holy Trinity, and farder finds the other crymes lybelled proven, viz. The denying of the incarnation of our Saviour, the Holy Trinity, and scoffing

at the Holy Scriptures. This is subscribed by the chancellor and clerk at the appoyntment of the above written assysers, at Edinburgh, the 23rd day of December, 1696 years.

“*Sic subscribitur*, GEO. CLERK, Chancellor.
 ADAM BROWN, Clerk.”

After the reading of the verdict, which was returned, by order of the Court, at noon on the day following, sentence was pronounced against the prisoner. He was adjudged to be taken to the Gallowlee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, on Friday, the 8th of January next ensuing, between two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till he was dead, and his body to be interred at the foot of the said gallows; in addition to which, it was ordered, that all his moveable goods and gear should be escheated to the crown.

The following reflections upon this mockery of justice, from the pen of a celebrated legal writer, sets the whole case in its true light; and proves, that no conviction could have taken place, if the Court had done its duty. “The Court found the railing against, or cursing any of the Trinity, relevant to infer the pains of death; and the other crimes relevant to infer an arbitrary punishment.—No counsel appeared for the prisoner; nor does it seem that one word was urged in his behalf during the course of the trial. Four or five witnesses were examined, one of them a writer in Edinburgh, the rest students at the University, lads from 18 to 20 or 21 years of age. They proved most of the arti-

cles of the libel, with this addition, that the prisoner said, he was confident Christianity would be utterly extirpated by the year 1800. There was however a material defect in the evidence. The article most highly criminal, viz. the railing against God, and cursing our Saviour, was not proved at all, but was an inference drawn by the jury from the prisoner's cursing Ezra, and saying, that the inventors of the scriptural doctrines would be damned, if there be such a thing as damnation.—The jury unanimously found the prisoner guilty of railing against God, railing at, and cursing Christ, and of the whole other articles of the libel. This verdict the jury, even by the Statute, were not warranted to pronounce. * * * The railing against God, and cursing Christ, ought to have been facts directly proved, and not inferences drawn from cursing the inventors of scriptural doctrines; and as for denying any of the persons of the Holy Trinity, it was not the denial, but obstinately persisting therein, which by the Statute subjected the offender to a capital punishment.—Besides these defences, had the Court been endued with the humanity to appoint counsel for the prisoner, it would undoubtedly have been pled for him, that these were rash words, drawn from him in the heat of controversy, which by no means coincided with his serious notions; and that he heartily repented of the warmth which betrayed him into expressions so dissonant from his own sentiments, and so offensive to the feelings of others. Had these defences been offered for him, the jury could not, without being guilty of perjury, have

convicted him of obstinately persisting to deny the Trinity, which the Statute required.”*

Mr. L. Anstruther, an eminent Advocate of the time, writing to Mr. Robert Cunningham, from Aden, January 26th, 1697, (between a fortnight and three weeks after the execution,) says,—“ We had lately an anomaly, and monster of nature I may call him, who was execut for cursing and reviling the persons of the Trinity; he was 18 yeers of age, not vicious, and extremely studious. Fountionehall and I went to him in prison, and I found a work on his spirit, and wept that ever he should have maintained such tenets, and desired a short reprieve, for his eternall state depended upon it; I plead for him in counsel, and brought it to the chan. [Qu. chancellor’s ?] vote; it was told that it could not be granted unless the Ministers would interced; I am not for consulting the Church in State affairs; I doe think he would have proven an eminent Christian had he lived; but the Ministers out of a pious, though I think ignorant zeal, spok and preached for cutting him off.”†

The execution of this unfortunate young man could not have taken place many months before Mr. Gailhard’s work issued from the press; and the author of that work, there can be no doubt, secretly exulted in the perpetration of this judicial murder, though he prudently abstained from referring to it,

* *Arnot*, p. 326; apud *State Trials*, ubi supra. The full title of Arnot’s work is, “ A Collection and Abridgment of celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, from 1636 to 1784, with Historical and Critical Remarks: by Hugo Arnot, Esq., Advocate. Edinburgh, 1785,” 4to. See also *Monthly Repository*, Vol. VIII. (1813) pp. 17. 108. 178—180.

† *State Trials*, Vol. XIII. pp. 929, 930.

and contented himself with speaking in terms of commendation respecting the law of Scotland, and holding it up as a model to English legislators.

Soon after the prorogation of the English Parliament, there appeared from the press a reply to Mr. Gailhard's fanatical production. This reply occupies the fourth place in the "Fourth Collection of Tracts," and is entitled, "An Apology for the Parliament, humbly representing to Mr. John Gailhard some Reasons why they did not at his Request enact Sanguinary Laws against Protestants in their last Session; in two Letters by different Hands. London, 1697," 4to. Mr. Gailhard, it appears, had delayed the publication of his volume, till the greater part of the public business of Parliament was brought to a close, in the hope that the members of both Houses would be able to give their undivided attention to his favourite scheme, during the remainder of the Session. But whether it was, that they were anxious, after their discussions upon the Capitation and Land Tax, and the Tonnage and Excise Duties, to suspend their legislative functions for a time; or whether the Government advised the King to prorogue the Parliament, and postpone the consideration of the question to the next Session;—the members separated, without passing any penal enactment against the professors and publishers of Unitarian opinions.

About this time,* the Dissenters, in an Address to the King, entreated and urged His Majesty to stop the press against the Unitarians; and in making this request, it is well known, that they had chiefly

* *Lindsey's Hist. View*, Chap. v. Sect. i. p. 302.

in view the tracts, which had been written by the friends of Mr. Firmin, and circulated under the patronage of that gentleman; and which the Trinitarians, both in and out of the Church, had in vain attempted to write down. Nor is it improbable, that the interest, which Mr. Firmin possessed in high places, had induced the government to waver, and, for a time at least, to decline proposing such an enactment, as that which had been urged upon it by Mr. Gailhard. But whatever may have been the cause of the delay, another session was not allowed to pass, without measures being taken, to secure the object, which Mr. G. and the Dissenters had so officiously urged upon the King and Parliament.

On the 17th of February, 1698, (about two months after Mr. Firmin's death,) the Commons, in their Address to the King, adverted to the subject in the following terms. "We do further, in all humility, beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty would give such effectual orders, as to your Royal Wisdom shall seem fit, for the suppressing all pernicious books and pamphlets, which contain in them impious doctrines against the Holy Trinity, and other fundamental articles of our faith, tending to the subversion of the Christian Religion; and that the authors and publishers thereof may be discountenanced and punished." This humble request of "His Majesty's faithful Commons" had the desired effect; and, in the course of the same Session of Parliament, the King gave his consent to the passing of an Act, in which the joint recommendation of Mr. Gailhard, the Dissenters, and the mem-

bers of the House of Commons, was duly carried out. This was the Statute 9 and 10 William III., c. 32, entitled, "An Act for the more effectual suppressing of Blasphemy and Profaneness."

By this Statute, it was enacted, that "if any person, having been educated in, or at any time having made profession of the Christian Religion, within this realm, shall, by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the persons of the Holy Trinity to be God, or shall assert or maintain there are more Gods than one, or shall deny the Christian Religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of divine authority, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted by the oath of two or more credible witnesses; such person, for the first offence, shall be adjudged incapable, and disabled in law, to have and enjoy any office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil or military: and if such person shall be a second time lawfully convicted, as aforesaid, of all or any of the aforesaid crime or crimes, that then he shall from thenceforth be disabled to sue, prosecute, plead, or use any action or information, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office, civil or military, or benefice ecclesiastical, for ever within this realm, and shall also suffer imprisonment for the space of three years, without bail or mainprize, from the time of such conviction."

It is inferred, with great probability, by Dr. Thomas Rees, "from the manner in which Bishop Burnet appears to have written to his friend Lim-

borch, in commendation of this intolerant law, that he had some, and probably a considerable share in the preparation of it."* In a letter written to Locke, August 18th, 1698, of which the learned Samuel Crellius was the bearer, Limborch thus adverts to Crellius's acquaintance with the Bishop of Salisbury, and to the terms, in which the latter had referred to the passing of the above Act. "He [Crellius] has before been in England, and on that occasion became acquainted with the Bishop of Salisbury. But whether, at this time, in the present posture of affairs, after the recent enactment of the law against those who deny any one of the persons of the Holy Trinity, he will be to him a welcome visiter, I very greatly doubt. It was with some surprise that I read in that Most Reverend Prelate's last letter to me, a warm commendation of this Statute. I returned a free and candid answer, pointing out the sort of zeal which ought to be manifested in defence of the truth, namely, not that fiery zeal which, by the severity of legal enactments, attempts to close the mouths of opponents, but that which, by the power of arguments, forces upon the mind a conviction of the truth. I do not know whether or not my freedom of speech was agreeable to him. I wrote what I believed it to be my duty to state. The matter is one of supreme importance, respecting which we are not permitted to dissemble. I am aware that my opinion is of no weight either as to procuring or opposing the Statute. Nevertheless, since it pleased the Bishop to pour his complaints into my bosom, as he expresses

* Christian Reformer, 1835, Vol. II. p. 28.

himself, I have gone beyond my proper business to write explicitly to my friend what I thought. I greatly fear lest this law should prove the commencement of a new persecution."*

Fortunately, the apprehensions of Limborch proved unfounded. It does not appear, that any persons were brought into trouble at that time, by the passing of the above Act;† and though attempts were subsequently made, as in the case of Edward Elwall, and others, to enforce it, these attempts were rendered abortive by the increasing liberality of the age, till, at length, so much of it as related to Antitrinitarians was repealed, by the Act usually known as Mr. William Smith's Act, which received the Royal Assent on the 21st of July, 1813.‡ On that day, as was observed by the late Rev. Robert Aspland, "Unitarians became for the first time freemen in their native land." But though their persons were protected from violence by the Act of Mr. William Smith, the property bequeathed to them for religious purposes, before the passing of that Act, was still found, contrary to the intention of the legislature, to be insecure; and the charter of their freedom was not fully confirmed, till the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, on the 19th of July, 1844.§

It has been the object of the preceding remarks to furnish a review of the state of religious parties, and a sketch of the progress of Unitarianism in England, from the Reformation to the close of the

* Christian Reformer, 1835, Vol. II. pp. 28, 29.

† Lindsey's Hist. View, Chap. v. Sect. i. p. 304.

‡ APPENDIX, No. xx. § APPENDIX, No. xxi.

seventeenth century. How far that object has been accomplished it remains for the reader to judge. But that Antitrinitarian opinions were held by many, and that the number of those who embraced them received large, and constant accessions, during the whole of that period, evidence has been exhibited, which must convince the most incredulous.

A striking fact, illustrative of the state of the Unitarian doctrine in the Church of England about the year 1700, is mentioned by Mr. Evelyn in his *Memoirs*.* “Are not many of us,” says he, “able to point to several persons whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich benefices and dignities, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the Divinity of Christ?” The reference here is to the abuse of patronage on the part of the Whigs, who are charged, in no very ambiguous terms, with having elevated to offices of the highest authority, both in Church and State, persons, whose only recommendation was that of having been trained up from their childhood in Antitrinitarian sentiments. There may be exaggeration in the manner in which this charge is worded; but that persons of the description alluded to did obtain situations of trust and importance, both in and out of the Church, there is little reason to doubt. That the heterodoxy, however, of such men as Locke and Newton formed the ground of preference, and particularly the chief or only ground, with those to whom they owed their elevation, is extremely improbable. That it was

* Vol. II. p. 73, An. 1701; apud *Christian Reformer*, N. S. Vol. III. p. 33.

not allowed to operate as a bar to their admission to office, is creditable to the memory of William III., and his Ministers, and especially to the former, who retained, to the close of his life, the rigid Calvinistic sentiments, in which he had been educated, and which he brought with him from Holland into this country.

We have a further indication of the progress which liberal opinions had made, and of the effects resulting from their diffusion, in the following account of the state of the English Presbyterian body by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., which he gives in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, under the years 1700 and 1701,* and with which we shall close the present Introduction.

“He speaks with great concern of differences which had arisen even thus early in the Non-Conforming body, and expresses his sorrow if ‘Dr. Stillingfleet should be a true prophet, *Let the Dissenters alone, and they will destroy themselves.*’—‘If my ink, or breath or blood would afford a plaister, I should rejoice.’ He knew not what to advise. The Dissenters had begun without making provision for cases such as those.

“Another thing which in this year deeply interested him and disturbed his quiet was, the publication by Mr. Smith of a volume, in which he explained the new views which he took of the imputation of Christ’s righteousness. He entitled it, ‘The true Notion of Imputed Righteousness, and our Justification thereby; being a supply of what is lacking

* The Rise of the Old Dissent, exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood: by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., pp. 400, 401.

in the late book of that most learned person Bishop Stillingfleet,' &c.; and it was followed in the same year by 'A Defence of the foregoing Doctrine against some growing Opposition among Neighbours; Ministers, and others.' This appears to have been the first promulgation from the press of opinions deemed heretical, by a Yorkshire Non-Conforming minister. Mr. Smith had been ordained to the ministry by Mr. Heywood himself. The book excited alarm and concern. Mr. Heywood, on the 21st of December, wrote thus to Mr. Jollic:—'We have another breach made in our parts by Mr. Matthew Smith, preaching, and printing a book against the imputation of Christ's righteousness for justification, that *Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*, as Luther calls it. I am much concerned about it; because it diverts people from the main practical things to endless disputes; besides the perniciousness of the doctrine. I have charity for him, though [some] men have not; and others admire him. I bless the Lord we have peace among our people.' Had Mr. Heywood lived twenty years longer he would have seen still wider departures from what he deemed the truth, in the Non-Conforming ministry, for which a preparation was now being laid.

"1701. Another year of declining health, and diminished power of exertion. But we still find him intent on his Master's work, and delighting himself in his frequent private devotions. He is still discomposed about Mr. Kirshaw's disputes in Craven, and Mr. Smith's want of orthodoxy.* Mr.

* "Mr. Smith was one of the first of those who entered the Non-Conforming ministry after the time of the ejection. He was a native

Timothy Jollie, without having seen the book, attributed it to the want of proper humility in Mr. Smith, and writes to Mr. Heywood concerning it:—
‘I do heartily condole with you in the apprehension the common adversary will gain by these efforts; but I trust the faith of the martyrs and glorious reformers will not be abandoned to novellists.’ The spirit however of free inquiry, which had manifested itself in the Puritan body in earlier times, when it touched only petty matters, and brought them to the test of Scripture, was now beginning to take a wider range, and to comprehend within its reach far higher subjects, and was not to be checked by appeals to ancestry, and the opinions of ancient or later martyrs.”

of York, and educated by Mr. Ralph Ward, the minister particularly patronized by Lady Hewley, and whose daughter was the wife of Dr. Colton.”

ANTITRINITARIAN BIOGRAPHY.

1

ANTITRINITARIAN BIOGRAPHY.

1.

MARTIN CELLARIUS, called also BORRHAÜS, was born at Stuttgard in the year of our Lord 1499; and was the first Protestant, who openly avowed Antitrinitarian sentiments. He received the rudiments of his education, together with Melanchthon, under the celebrated John Reuchlin, or Capnio, at Tübingen. From Tübingen he proceeded to Heidelberg, where he made great proficiency in languages, and in those branches of literature and science, which were commonly cultivated among the learned of that age. His first settlement was at Wittenberg, where he was kindly received by Melanchthon, who procured him some private teaching, which he found very profitable.

He began to rise into eminence about the year 1520; and when Luther threw off the papal yoke, Cellarius, who was at that time upon intimate terms with him, was among the first of those who embraced his principles. But it soon became evident, that he was not destined to be a servile follower of Luther, or any other merely human teacher. Having engaged in a controversy with Stübner and Storck, two of the most active leaders of the German Anabaptists, he was convinced by their arguments, and had the candour to acknowledge himself in the wrong. In his twenty-sixth year he went into Prussia, where he was

imprisoned by order of the government, but nevertheless published several works in favour of his Anabaptistical opinions.

Pursuing his religious inquiries with a freedom before unknown, he was ultimately led to embrace Unitarian sentiments, and became very zealous for their diffusion. The public profession, however, of these new opinions, which were equally obnoxious to Catholics and Protestants, exposed him to a succession of persecutions; and compelled him, in the year 1536, after his liberation from prison at Königsberg by Prince Albert, to flee, for safety and protection, into Switzerland, where he spent the remainder of his life in comparative tranquillity.

The Ministers of Poland and Transylvania, speaking of Cellarius, say, "What has not Martin Cellarius attempted, that he might clear the way for posterity?—Read his writings." In another place they observe, that "God gave to Luther and Zwingli the honour of reforming the received doctrines concerning Justification and the Eucharist; but that it was Martin Cellarius, Servetus and Erasmus,* who were first employed by him, as instruments, in inculcating a knowledge of the true God and of Christ." In a manuscript history of the life of Servetus, attributed by Allwoerden to Castalio, honourable mention is made of Cellarius, who is described as "chief Professor of Theology in the city of Geneva," at the time of Servetus's martyrdom; and is mentioned as the principal opponent of Calvin in that dark transaction. Faustus Socinus, in a letter to Peter Statorius, dated October 15th, 1590, says, that his uncle Lælius collected testimonies concerning Cellarius; and this collection, if it were still in existence, would probably throw some light upon the early history of the Protestant Reformation. Andrew Althamer, one of the

* APPENDIX, No. i.

Reformers, who pushed his sentiments to the very verge of Antinomianism, charges Cellarius with holding the opinions of Paul of Samosata; and represents him as having taught that Jesus Christ was a human prophet. His Commentaries, indeed, contain expressions, which savour of orthodoxy, and differ widely from the language commonly used by Antitrinitarians. It may nevertheless be doubted, whether, in any part of his life, after he had arrived at years of discretion, he was a believer in the doctrine of the Trinity, as laid down in the Athanasian Creed. Perhaps his opinion, under its latest modification, could not be more concisely or correctly expressed, than in the following words, with which he concludes the Preface to his Commentaries on the Books of Moses, published A.D. 1555, and which certainly do not come up to the full standard of approved orthodoxy. "*Spiritus sacer in pectora nostra de cœlo fundatur, quo Patrem cœlestem per filium Jesum Christum dominum nostrum lege Mosaica variè adumbratum, per prophetas promissum, à majoribus jam inde à contracta culpa expectatum, et postremis temporibus cum variis signis ostentisque mundo exhibitum et declaratum, verè sanctèque revereamur, colamus, amplificemus: cui sit gloria et honos in æternum. Amen.*" Rendered into English, these words express the following sentiment:—"May the Holy Spirit be poured into our breasts from heaven, and by this Spirit may we truly and holily revere, worship and magnify our Heavenly Father, through his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, variously shadowed forth by the Mosaic Law, promised through the prophets, expected by our forefathers from the first introduction of sin, and exhibited and declared to the world in later times with various signs and wonders: to whom be glory and honour for ever. Amen."

His celebrated work, "*De Operibus Dei*," exhibits

still more decisive indications of heterodoxy. Among the "Loci Insigniores," or *More Remarkable Passages*, is one entitled, "Consilium creationis secundi Adam," or *Design of the creation of the second Adam*, (§ iii. p. 3,) and another,—"*Christus deus et electi dii*," *Christ a god and the elect gods* (§ ix. p. 23). Under the latter head he says, "Let him be a *god* fully through a full participation of the Deity which dwells in him bodily, and through a full participation of the Holy Spirit which he has without measure; yet we also are all *gods*, and sons of the Highest, by a participation of the Deity, and of the same Spirit, but after the measure of the gift of Christ Jesus,—of whose fulness we have all received, according to this Scripture, 'I said ye are gods, and all of you are sons of the Most High.'" And that the word *god*, here applied to Christ, is used in an inferior sense, is evident from the fact, that it is printed *deus*, and not *Deus*, the latter being used only to designate the Supreme God. This remarkable treatise concludes with the following ascription of "praise and glory to the Father of glory, and to his exalted Messiah." "*Laus et gloria Patri gloriæ, et Messiah suo exaltato, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*"

Cellarius died on the 11th of October, 1564, and was interred within the precincts of the Cathedral Church at Basle, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory; and consecrated, with singular impropriety, to the Triune God.

Cellarius was of short stature, but robust, and inclined to corpulency. His biographers represent him as an excellent theologian; and well skilled in the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac languages. He took no part in the politics of the day, but devoted himself wholly to literary pursuits. His writings, of which the following is a list, were partly philosophical, and partly theological.

1. On the Works of God. Strasb. 1527, 8vo. The Preface to this book was written by Wolfgang Fabricius Capito. The book itself is mentioned by Faustus Socinus, in his "Brief Treatise concerning the Use and End of the Lord's Supper." He says, "If there is any one who has the book of Martin Cellarius, or Borrhaüs, 'On the Works of God,' unless my memory deceives me, he will have enough to convince him, that my opinion is neither new, nor heard of for the first time in our age."

2. A Homily on the Restoration of the Church, being an extract from the preceding work. Weissenburg, 1568, 4to.

3. A Commentary on Ecclesiastes. Basle, 1539, Fol. This Commentary was reprinted in 1564. Vide No. 14.

4. On the Distinction between the True and the False. Three Books. Basle, 1541, 4to.

5. Annotations on the Politics of Aristotle. Eight Books. Basle, 1545, 8vo.

6. Axioms on the Origin and Nature of the Old and New Man, propounded to the Theological Students in the University of Basle, for knowing the true Way of Piety and Salvation. Basle, 1548.

7. On the Use which may be made of the Example and Doctrine of Francis Spire. Basle, 1550.

8. On the Origin, Nature, Use and Distinction of the Jubilees instituted by God, and the Difference between these and the false ones counterfeited by the Adversary. Basle, 1550.

9. Elements of Astronomy and Geography. 1539, 8vo.

10. Commentaries on Aristotle's Three Books on the Art of Speaking. Basle, 1551, Fol.

11. Commentaries on the Pentateuch. 1555, Fol.

12. A Commentary on the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel and Kings. Basle, 1557, Fol.

13. Commentaries on Isaiah and Revelation. Basle, Fol. These Commentaries are without date; but the latter was published separately at Basle, in 1561, Fol., and at Zurich, 1600, Fol.

14. Commentary on Job, and Annotations on Ecclesiastes. 1564, Fol.

15. Astronomical and Geographical Comment on the Elements of Cosmography, intended for the use of Students in Astronomy and Geography. Basle, 1555, 8vo.

VIDEND. *Sandii*, Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum, pp. 15, 16. *Bock*, Historia Antitrinitariorum, T. I. pp. 67—71; T. II. pp. 223—231. *Melchior. Adam*, Vitæ German. Theolog. pp. 191, 192. *Seckendorf*, Historia Lutheranismi, L. i. An. 1522, pp. 193, 194. *Hoornbeek*, Summa Controversiarum, L. v. pp. 337, 338. *Bayle*, Dict. Hist. et Crit. *Art. BOERHAUS*. *Moreri*, Dict. Hist. *Art. BOERHÆE*. *Rees's* Racovian Catechism, Hist. Introd. pp. iv, v. *Alkooerden*, Hist. Mich. Serveti, p. 76. *F. Socini* Opp. T. I. pp. 433. 767.

2.

WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO is mentioned by the Ministers and Elders of Transylvania, as the friend and fellow-labourer of Cellarius, in a book "On the Divinity of the Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus."—"Fabricius Capito," say they, "a man alike distinguished for piety and erudition, after announcing the superior mental endowments of his fellow-labourer, Cellarius, and the useful character of his treatise [On the Works of God], mentions certain religious topics on which he had some private conversation with Cellarius, such as the knowledge of the One God, and of Christ; the Holy Spirit, &c." To the above work of Cellarius, published in 8vo. at Strasburg, A. D. 1527, a Preliminary Address to the Reader, written by Capito, is prefixed, in which he thus expresses himself as to the imperfect nature, and limited extent of the Reformation, in which he and his fellow-labourers were then engaged. "This book of our Cellarius, excellent as it is, and Bucer's

‘Matthew,’ which cautiously teaches many things above the capacity of the vulgar, as well as our own ‘Hosea, Malachi and Jonah,’ in which, according to our poor ability, we have treated upon matters relating to God and truth, in a manner not altogether different from the style of Cellarius; our works, I say, will all decay and perish, in the natural course of things, with us their authors, and with our own consent. This we know, and write accordingly, but only for present use, till God shall reveal greater things.”

Capito was born at Hagenau, in Alsace, about the year 1478; and received his academical education at Basle. He was brought up to the study of Physic, in which he graduated: but after the death of his father, about the year 1504, he began to turn his attention to Law and Theology. The latter of these he finally chose as his profession.

He first became a Preacher at Spire, from which place he was invited to Basle. The Archbishop of Mentz, having heard of his great merit, appointed him his Chancellor in 1520. This office he accepted, with the view of enlisting the German clergy into the service of the Reformation, and bringing about the contemplated change without disturbance; and as long as he entertained any hope of success in this laudable design, he prevailed upon Luther not to exasperate the heads of the clergy by his vehemence, in the hope that they might be gained over by gentler means. But when he saw that interest and ambition prevailed with the Archbishop, he threw up his appointment; and quitting the court, retired to Strasburg, where he exercised, during the remainder of his life, the humble functions of a Pastor. He fell a victim to the plague in the year 1541 or 1542, at the age of sixty-three.

Capito superintended the publication of an 8vo. edition of the Greek New Testament, which was printed at Stras-

burg, in 1524, by his cousin, Wolfgang Koepfel; and which was remarkable for its elegance and accuracy. His principal works were,

1. Hebrew Institutions, in two Books;
2. Commentaries on Hosea, Jonah, Habakkuk and Malachi;
3. A Life of John Ecolampadius;
4. A Treatise on the early Training of a Theologian; and
5. On the six Days' Work of Creation.

His published writings are very scarce; and not to be met with, except in the oldest, and best furnished libraries. He left behind him several manuscripts in German; and wrote Commentaries on most of the books of Scripture. But these were not printed; and have probably long since perished.

He is represented, by contemporaneous writers, as a learned and eloquent Divine; and is said particularly to have excelled as a Hebrew scholar. Melchior Adam describes him as a friend to literature, and literary institutions; a man of admirable talents and judgment, and of great steadiness of religious principle. He urged Erasmus to speak out, and blamed him for not making a bolder stand against the errors and corruptions of the day. Sandius, not altogether without reason, assigns to him the first place in his "*Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*."*

VIDEND. *Sandii* B. A. pp. 1, 2. *Dock*, Hist. Ant. T. I. p. 95; T. II. pp. 302, 303. *Moreri*, Dict. Hist. Art. CAPITON. *Aikin's* Life of Zwingli, p. 254. *Melch. Adam*. Vit. Germ. Theol. pp. 41—43. *Walchii*, Bibl. Theol. T. IV. pp. 16. 568. 587. *Vogt*, Catal. Historico-Crit. Libr. Rar. p. 169. *Le Long*, Bibl. Sac. Ed. Masch. P. i. C. ii. Sect. i. § xii. etc.

3.

JOHN CAMPANUS is seldom mentioned by the writers of his own time; but Schelhorn, in his "*Amœnitates Literariæ*," (Tom. XI.) has collected, with great care, many curious and interesting particulars respecting him.

His native place is not known. Schelhorn thinks that he was born either at Juliers, or at Maseyck, an inland town of the Netherlands, on the Maese. The former of these conjectures is the more probable; and is confirmed by the testimony of Witzel.

Campanus studied first at Dusseldorf, and afterwards at Cologne; but was driven from the latter place, about the year 1520, by a knot of obscure individuals, whom he had lampooned, under the name of "the Wiseacres of Cologne." In a letter, dated Cologne, 1520, and published in the works of Cornelius Agrippa, he is called "a man of distinguished learning and virtue:" but whether he had then imbibed Antitrinitarian opinions, does not appear.

He settled at Wittenberg about the year 1528, and for a time had the charge of some noble youths in that city; but he conducted himself with such caution, that none of the Professors discovered that he was an Antitrinitarian, although he secretly disseminated his opinions, even at that early period. At first, like Cellarius and Capito, he professed himself a follower of Luther; but differing from the great reformer on the subjects of the Eucharist and the Trinity, he separated from him at the end of two years, and, according to Moreri, formed a sect of his own. This statement, however, is not strictly true; for Campanus, as Mosheim observes, was not so far encouraged, by the number of his followers, or the indulgence of his adversaries, as to be in a condition to form a regularly organized sect. It was not, indeed, till he had left Wittenberg, and gone to reside with the Rev. George Witzel, at Niemeck, that

Luther and Melanchthon were apprized of his being an Antitrinitarian. Before his residence at that village, however, he went to Marburg, for the purpose of attending a conference between Luther and the Swiss Protestants, on the subject of the Lord's Supper, respecting which he is said to have held opinions peculiar to himself. But Luther objected to his being present, on which account he was not permitted to attend. Returning, therefore, from Marburg, he took his farewell of Wittenberg, and went, as was before stated, to Niemeck.

Rumours now began to get abroad respecting his unsoundness in the faith; and his friend Witzel, who was entertaining him as his guest, also fell under a suspicion of heresy. This suspicion was entirely groundless; and Witzel is, therefore, very properly omitted by Sandius, in his Catalogue of Antitrinitarian writers.

It appears that, in 1530, Campanus was at Thurgau, to which canton Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon had been invited by the Elector of Saxony, in order to take into consideration certain controverted articles of faith. On this occasion he was accompanied by some young men from Juliers; but as he went uninvited, he suffered a second repulse.

Soon after this, he paid another short visit at the house of Witzel, through whom he obtained access to the valuable library of Werner von Stechau, for the purpose of consulting the writings of the Fathers. But this act of kindness involved Witzel in great trouble; for it now became known, that Campanus rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, and it was suspected that Witzel also was an Antitrinitarian. Campanus, therefore, withdrew into the Duchy of Juliers; and Witzel was thrown into prison. But on a careful examination of Witzel's papers, nothing was found to criminate him. Cochlæus, and after him Spon-

danus and others, say that he was imprisoned at the instigation of Luther; but Megalander denies this, and asserts that the Elector imprisoned him of his own accord. It appears, however, from Luther's "Table-talk," that, for some years afterwards, he retained his suspicions that Witzel was a secret favourer of the Campanian heresy.

Campanus is said to have written a book, entitled, "Against the whole World after the Apostles." Whether this book was composed in Latin, or in German, and whether it was published, or suppressed, Schelhorn acknowledges his inability to determine. Luther saw a copy of it in Campanus's own hand-writing; and both he and Melancthon allude to it. Bock remembered having somewhere read, that it was composed at Niemeck; but was unable to refer to the passage, in which this statement appeared.

Campanus taught, that the Son is inferior to the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is not a distinct person; and the first Article of "the Augsburg Confession" is supposed to have been framed with a direct reference to these opinions, which Campanus was employed in propagating, at the very time that the Diet was sitting at Augsburg. Melancthon, who was no less distinguished for his moderation than his great learning, was the person chiefly concerned in drawing up this Confession; and he is known purposely to have used terms, as little offensive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard to truth and consistency would admit. On its completion, it was submitted to the inspection of some Catholic Divines, by order of Charles V.; and after they had scrutinized its contents, and objected to some of its articles, Melancthon revised it, softening down some of its expressions, expunging others, and giving to all, which had the remotest connexion with the points in dispute between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, the mildest and most

favourable construction which they would bear. Such, indeed, was the anxiety displayed by the Reformed party, on this occasion, to gloss over the differences which existed between themselves and their Roman Catholic brethren, that they seem almost to have lost sight of the grounds upon which they had seceded from the Church of Rome, and to have been tempted into concessions, at variance with the true Protestant principle. In accordance with this time-serving spirit, the doctrine taught by Campanus was condemned, and a formal censure pronounced upon all who were friendly to its dissemination. The majority of those, who have written commentaries upon "the Augsburg Confession," suppose, that, in the words "Damnant Samosatenianos Neotericos," Servetus and his followers are the persons denounced; and this opinion is favoured by ancient and respectable testimonies. In an anonymous edition of the Confession, published at Rostock as early as the year 1562, the following observation is subjoined, by way of note, upon the words "Veteres et Neotericos:"—"Michael Servetus, of Aragon in Spain, who was burnt at Geneva, in Savoy, Oct. 27, 1553, has revived in our age the heresy of Paul of Samosata, by his writings, published in Germany and France." Melancthon also, in a conference held at Worms, A.D. 1540, addressed Eccius to this effect: "There is no controversy concerning the first article, in which it is evident that our Churches have faithfully defended the commonly received doctrine, against Servetus and *others*." Among those, to whom Melancthon here refers, must undoubtedly be placed Campanus, who was actively employed in disseminating Antitrinitarian doctrines in Germany, before Servetus published anything on the subject of the Trinity, and even before he had visited that country. Melancthon, in a letter dated July 15th, 1531, and addressed to Conrad Heresbach, a Councillor of the

Duchy of Juliers, says,—“You have among you a person named Campanus, who professes hostility to the party of Luther, in order that he may gain the good opinion of those nations, in which the name of Luther is odious. Against the Lutherans he writes scarcely anything but verbiage and scurrility. He has woven a web which he will not be able to unravel. I entreat you, therefore, to take especial care, that no evil arises out of those disputations. He is a young man, and unskilled in controversies of this nature. The title of his book is, ‘*Contra totum post Apostolos Mundum.*’ You will think upon these things.”

In the year 1532, Campanus published a work with the following title. “*Göttlicher und heiliger Schrifft, vor vielen Jaren verdunckelt, und durch unheilsame Leer und Lerer (aus Gottes Zulassung) verfinstert, Restitution und Besserung, durch den hochgelehrten Johannem Campanum. Ein Send-brief an Königl. M. von Denmarcken, &c. durch Nicolaüm Frantz von Streiten, 1532,*” 8vo. This work was divided into four parts; and the author treated in it concerning the Trinity in general, the Holy Spirit, the true nativity of the Son of God from the Father, and a variety of other matters. He concludes, that there is no Trinity of persons in the Godhead. He supposes that by the words “Holy Spirit” in Scripture is meant, not the third person in the Godhead, which he expressly denies; but the essence, nature, and operations of God the Father, and the Son. He rejects, as spurious, 1 John v. 7. But this alone, as Bock observes, is not sufficient to prove that he was an Antitrinitarian; for it is well known, that Luther himself had doubts respecting the authenticity of this passage. He confesses that Christ is the Son of God, not by adoption, but by real generation, being produced from the substance of the Father, and therefore of one and the same

essence with him: yet he believes, with the Arians, that there was a time when the Son was not, and consequently that the Father existed prior to the Son. He believes also that the Son is inferior to the Father, and was his assistant in the creation of the world; and that he is called *the Logos*, because he was the Messenger and Ambassador of the Father: but he denies that divine worship ought to be offered to him.

It has sometimes been supposed, that Campanus was a disciple of Servetus, and that he became acquainted with that injured man in France. A hint to this effect is thrown out by Zeltner, but it rests upon no historical evidence. Their opinions indeed were by no means identical, as Schelhorn clearly shews, in a parallel which he has drawn between them: for although both attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, they set about it in very different ways. Campanus believed that Christ was begotten of the Father before the ages; but Servetus taught, that he had no existence, before he was formed in the womb of Mary. The former asserted that Christ was the true Son of God, of the very substance of the Father, produced before the foundation of the world, and therefore a partaker of the same divine essence: the latter positively denied this, and taught that the Saviour was called "the Son of God," because God supplied the place of a Father to him, and formed him of the seed of man in Mary's womb. The former thought that Christ was called *the Logos*, by which, as his minister, God created the universe: the latter confidently denied that this name is given to Christ in Scripture, and did not allow that the world was made by him. Campanus, in short, affirmed that no one but himself had entertained correct opinions concerning the Father and the Son, from the apostolic age down to his own time, and consequently that Servetus had not; of whom, however,

he nowhere says a single word, and who was probably unknown to him when he wrote.

It is uncertain where Campanus was, or how he was employed, between the years 1532 and 1541; but in the latter year, Sebastian Franck addressed a letter to him from Strasburg, which was translated from Latin into German, and printed at Amsterdam, in 1661. Schellhorn obtained a fragment of this letter from John Conrad Ziegler, and has inserted it in his account of Campanus.

In another letter, written on the 10th of June, 1546, and addressed to Vitus Theodorus, Melanchthon speaks of Campanus as a person of some note at Juliers; and as secretly disseminating his opinions, and sapping the foundations of the Gospel. "In the mean time," says Melanchthon, "he insinuates himself into the good graces of Groper, and is beloved, because he vents his rage against our Churches. May the eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, at the baptism of his Son, truly manifested himself, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, guide us, and not permit the light of the Gospel to be extinguished." That Campanus published some work in defence of his opinions in the course of the same year, has been inferred from another letter, addressed by Melanchthon to Heresbach; but what that work was has never been ascertained.

From this time he appears to have sought retirement, induced, as Schellhorn conjectures, by the complaints made against him by Melanchthon to Heresbach, whose influence was at that time great in the Duchy of Juliers. But on the publication of an anonymous work "Against the Doctrine of the Trinity, and the Eternity of the Holy Spirit," in the year 1553, Melanchthon, who, in spite of his usual candour, could not help wishing Campanus out of the world, suspected that it proceeded from his pen. It seems probable, however, that it was Servetus's "Christianismi

Restitutio," which was printed in that year, without the author's name in the title-page, but with the initial letters M. S. V. at the end. It might easily happen, that Melanchthon should at first be ignorant who the author was, and conjecture that the book was written by Campanus, who had prefixed nearly the same title to his German work, published in the year 1532. But however this may be, we incidentally learn, from the above conjecture of Melanchthon, who closely watched his movements, that Campanus was not thrown into prison before the year 1553. It appears, however, from the testimony of Lindanus, that he afterwards suffered a long imprisonment. The precise time of his incarceration it is not easy to determine; but it seems probable, that the fate of Servetus at Geneva, on the 27th of October, 1553, accounts of which spread rapidly through the Christian world, induced the Duke of Juliers to give orders for his apprehension and confinement.

Bredenbach, on the authority of Lindanus, says that Campanus persuaded the country people of Juliers, that the day of judgment was at hand, and that the world would, in a short time, be destroyed by a second deluge; so that they need not harass themselves by hard labour any longer, but might enjoy what they possessed, and not spare expense in their mode of living. The credulous country people, it is added, believing the prediction, sold their lands; but soon found, to their cost, that Campanus was no prophet. It is by no means certain that this story is true, because Lindanus, from whom it was borrowed, did not scruple to resort to misrepresentation and falsehood, when it served his purpose: but if it be entitled to any credit, it is amply sufficient to account for the imprisonment of Campanus. This imprisonment is said to have lasted twenty-six years; but whether Campanus was released, or effected his escape; how he afterwards lived, and when he died;—these are

points, upon which no satisfactory information has hitherto been obtained.

It may be inferred, from what Lindanus says of him, that, after he had regained his freedom, he lay concealed in some secure retreat, and lived to be a very old man. It is said, too, that he predicted his liberation from prison, and staked his credit, as a religious reformer, upon the correctness of the prediction; pledging himself, that, if it did not come true, he would give up all his long-cherished opinions. This story, however, like the former one, respecting his prediction of the end of the world, is entitled to little credit, considering the source from which it emanates.

No contemporaneous writer published any reply to the works of Campanus, as they issued from the press. Luther, Melanchthon, and other leading reformers, purposely abstained from entering into any controversy with him, from a fear of bringing him into notice, and exciting in the public mind a wish to become acquainted with his writings. Yet Bock thinks it probable, from a comparison of the time at which Campanus was staying at Wittenberg, that a work, entitled, "*Vermanung auss unsers gnedigsten Herrn des Ehurfürsten zu Sachssen Befehl, gestellet, durch die Prediger zu vorlesen widder Gotteslesterung und Füllerey, Wittenberg, 1531,*" 4to., was published on account of the opinions disseminated by him at Wittenberg, and in its vicinity, although his name is nowhere mentioned in the course of it.

Some have supposed, that our John Campanus was the same person as John Campanus or Campensis, who published "*A paraphrastic Interpretation of the Psalms and Ecclesiastes*" in Latin, at Paris, A.D. 1533, which afterwards went through many editions, and was translated into French by Stephen Dolet. So thought the authors of a Catalogue of Heretics, prepared in the year 1559, by com-

mand of the Roman Pontiff, which P. P. Vergerius afterwards republished with annotations. But Schelhorn has shewn, that this was a mistake, and that Campanus and Campensis were two very different persons.

VIDEND. *Sandii* B. A. p. 17. *Bock*, Hist. Ant. T. I. pp. 91, 92; II. pp. 244—255. *Trechsel*, Mich. Servet und seine Vorgänger, S. 28—34. *Schelhorn*, Amoen. Lit. T. XI. pp. 1—92. *Moreri*, Dict. Hist. Art. JEAN CAMPANUS. *Mosh.* Inst. H. E. Sæc. xvi. S. i. C. iii. § i—iv. S. iii. P. ii. C. iv. § iii. *Alhooerden*, Hist. M. Serveti, p. 28. *P. Melancth.* Epp. P. ii. pp. 394, 495. *Vogt*, Catal. pp. 167, 168. *Zellner*, Hist. Crypto-Soc. p. 350, Not. a. *Walchii*, Bibl. Theol. T. IV. p. 502.

4.

LEWIS HETZER, (*Germanicè*, LUDWIG HÄTZER,) of Bischofszell, a town of Switzerland, in Thurgau, was a man of great learning, and deeply versed in the original languages of the Scriptures. He is said, like Cellarius, at one time to have joined the Anabaptist party, and to have been upon terms of great intimacy with Storck and Müntzer; but he differed from them on some points, and particularly as regarded their levelling principles.

At first he held the office of chaplain at Wädenschweil; but being appointed to a cure at Zurich in 1523, he soon attached himself to the party of Zwingli. He openly impugned the doctrine of the Trinity; but the freedom of his opinions being at variance with the narrow and bigoted spirit of the age, he was thrown into prison, and ultimately condemned to death, by the magistrates of Constance, on a charge of blasphemy. This cruel sentence was carried into execution on the 4th of February, 1529. Historians, however, are not agreed as to the nature of his punishment, Sandius and others affirming that he was beheaded, while Seckendorf informs us that he was burnt. Plauter says of him, "that he very honestly and unblameably bade farewell to his disciples, and with most devout prayers com-

mended himself to God, even to the astonishment of the beholders."

Breitinger, in the "Museum Helveticum," informs us, that Hetzer was among the first of those, who rejected the ancient Romish superstition, and gave the weight of his name to the Evangelical doctrine, which he defended both by his mouth and his pen. Some writers have asserted, that he was a man of licentious principles and conduct: but this view of his character, though adopted by so respectable a historian as Mosheim, is entitled to no credit. The probability is, that this charge was a fabrication of his enemies; the most excellent characters, in those days, being exposed to the greatest misrepresentations, if they happened to hold opinions at variance with the orthodox creed.

Hetzer maintained, that the Father alone is the true God; that Christ is not equal to the Father, but vastly inferior to Him, and of a different essence; that there are not three persons in one God, because God is altogether ineffable, being neither person nor essence. His opinions on this subject are said to be embodied in the following verses, written by himself.

Ich bin allein der einig Gott,
Der ohn Gehylff alle Dinge beschaffen hat:
Fragstu, wie viel meiner sey?
Ich bin's allein, meiner sind nit Drey.
Sag auch darby ohn' allen Wohn,
Dass ich glatt nit weiss von keiner Person.

These rude verses have been thus rendered into Latin:

*Ipse ego qui propriâ cuncta hæc virtute creabam.
Quæris quot simus? Frustra; ego solus eram.
Hic non tres numero, verum sum solus, at isti
Haud numero tres sunt, nam qui ego, solus eram.
Nescio personam, solus sum rivus ego, et fons;
Qui me nescit, eum nescio; solus ero.*

Hetzer pronounced the worship of images to be fornication and idolatry; and in 1523 published a short treatise in German against the use of them in Churches. This work bore the following title. "Urtheil Gottes, wie man sich mit den Bildern halten soll." Another edition of this work appeared at Breslau in 1524; and in the same year a Latin translation of it was published in small 4to. Sandius says that this was without the author's name (B. A. p. 17), and Breitinger makes a similar assertion (Mus. Helv. T. VI. p. 102); but the incorrectness of these statements will appear from the title of the book itself, which is now lying before the writer of these pages, and of which the following is an exact copy. "Judicium Dei, et Sponsi nostri, quid cum Imaginibus, seu Simulachris agendum sit, ex Canonicis Scripturis, per Ludouicum Hätzer.—O domine deus noster libera captiuos tuos. Anno M.D.xxiii."

Sandius mentions another book, which Hetzer composed against the Deity of Christ, but which Zwingli suppressed. This book is referred to by Henr. Ottius, who states, that Hetzer was the first among the Anabaptists who impugned the Deity of Christ, in a *written* book, which Zwingli suppressed. But Breitinger, who also mentions this fact on the authority of Ottius, adds, "Ottius most correctly observes, that the impious book of Hetzer was only *written*, and not published; but what he subjoins about its suppression by Zwingli, I take to mean, that it was not printed by his advice and authority, lest it should some time be printed at Zurich or Basle." Breitinger further states, that the manuscript afterwards passed into the hands of Ambrose Blaurer, a Clergyman of the city of Constance, in whose library it was, A. D. 1552. Hottinger probably alludes to the same work, in his Hist. Eccles. Helv., where he mentions it as a current report, "that Hetzer *wrote* abominable impieties against the Divinity of Christ."

Hetzer translated into German Ecolampadius's treatise on the Lord's Supper; and in the Preface to his version, which was printed at Zurich in 1526, he endeavours to shew, that the words used by our Lord, at the institution of this rite, are to be taken figuratively, and assigns the reasons which induced him to translate the work. He also disclaims having any connexion with the Anabaptists: and strictly speaking, neither he, nor Denck, his friend and coadjutor in the translation of the Prophets, was an Anabaptist, although both of them adopted some of the opinions of that sect.

Bock reckons it among the merits of Hetzer, that he, in conjunction with Denck, translated the Books of the Prophets into German before Luther. This translation was published in Folio, and bore the following title. "*Alle Propheten nach Hebräischer Sprache verteutscht. O Gott erlöss die Gefangenen, M.D.xxvii.*" It is stated, at the end of the volume, that it was printed at Worms by Peter Schoeffer, and finished on the 13th of April, 1527; and in the Preface the translator intimates, that, after he had published his German version of the prophet Malachi, which came out in the preceding year, God supplied him with a fellow-labourer in the person of John Denck, who assisted him in completing his version of "all the Prophets."

Hetzer was a sincere inquirer after truth, but hasty and impetuous. On his settlement at Zurich, he was captivated with the new views unfolded by Zwingle, and was not slow in opening his whole heart to him. He attended the second disputation at Zurich, Oct. 26-28, 1523, and made memorandums of the whole proceedings; and, before the end of the year 1523, published his attack upon image-worship. In this little work, after a short introduction, he adduces, from the Old Testament, passages in which image-

worship is forbidden; others in which God commands the destruction of images, and denounces punishment upon those who worship them; and others, again, in which praise is bestowed upon those who have abolished idols. He then states his conviction, that these scriptural testimonies will satisfy pious Christians; and in order that he may give the same satisfaction, as far as possible, to Roman Catholics, who depend, as he says, upon trifling human reasonings, rather than upon testimonies of solid Scripture, he proceeds to answer the arguments usually brought forward in favour of image-worship, and that chiefly by means of passages from the Old and New Testament. The arguments to which he replies are the following. First, that the testimonies against images are adduced from the Jewish Scriptures, the precepts of which are not binding upon Christians; secondly, that it is not the images themselves which are worshiped and adored, but the saints of whom the images are the representations; thirdly, that images are the books of the illiterate; and fourthly, that they tend to excite devotion. Each of these arguments is separately examined, and shewn to be without any solid foundation. In replying to the last, Hetzer indignantly exclaims, "O hypocrite! If thou couldst collect all thy images into one bundle, they would not make thee better by the value of a single hair."

On one occasion, he publicly interrupted Conrad von Machswanden in the midst of his sermon, in order to set him right on a point of doctrine; and when a complaint was made to the council, he defended himself boldly and successfully.

In the year 1525, when Urbanus Rhegius had been preaching against Carlstadt and his party, from the words, "the flesh profiteth nothing," (John vi. 63,) Hetzer, in conversation, found fault with the sermon, and turned it into

ridicule. He also charged Ambrose Blaurer with having given false and blundering explanations of certain passages of Scripture. It is by no means surprising, that one, who was so much the creature of impulse, should sometimes involve himself in trouble: nor can we wonder, that, in those stirring times, such a man should at last have to pay the penalty of his rashness at the stake, or upon the scaffold.

VIDEND. *Sandii* B. A. pp. 16, 17. *Bock*, Hist. Ant. T. II. pp. 231—238. *Trechsel*, Mich. Servet und seine Vorgänger, S. 13—16. Apocalypse, or a Revelation of certain notorious Advancers of Heresie, faithfully and impartially translated out of Latin by J. D. [*John Davies*]. Lond. 1658, 12mo. Ed. 2, pp. 66, 67. *Seckendorf*, Hist. Luth. L. ii. p. 145. *Henr. Otthii* Hist. Anabapt. ad An. 1529, § 4. *Museum Helveticum*, T. VI. pp. 101, 109, 110. *Hottinger*, Hist. Eccles. Helvet. P. iii. p. 498.

5.

JOHN DENCK, (*Germ.* HANS DENGCK,) was the intimate friend of Lewis Hetzer. Scultetus calls him a Bavarian; and describes him as a learned man, and a skilful Hebraist, but says that he was of a melancholy temperament. According to some, he was born in the Upper Palatinate, which now forms part of the circles of the Regen and the Upper Maine, in Bavaria. Having been removed, by the Chief Magistrate of the town of Nuremberg, from the office of Rector of the School of St. Sebald, in the year 1524, he was ordered to leave the place before sunset. From Nuremberg he went into Switzerland, where he continued to reside, for the most part, during the rest of his life. At St. Gall, and subsequently at Basle, he was employed as a corrector of the press; and during his residence at the latter place he formed an intimate acquaintance with *CEcolampadius*.

In 1526, he began to assist Hetzer in his translation of the Prophets, which was published in the year following;

and in 1528, he died of the plague at Basle. The book of Micah was rendered by Denck into German, as appears from a work in the Royal Library at Königsberg, entitled, "Micha der Prophet, wie der Hans Dengck uff diese Zeit verglichen hat, u. s. w. Strassburg, Jacob. Cammer." (a contraction of the name *Cammerlander*). 8vo. The date of the impression is not mentioned; but it is supposed to have been printed in 1527.

A copy of another scarce work of Denck's is preserved in the same Library, and bears the following title. "Von dem Gsetz Gottes, wie das aufgehoben sey und doch erfüllt werden muss. Hans Dengck." 8vo.

Six theological and ascetic tracts, having the name of Denck in the title-page, were published at Amsterdam in 1680, 12mo.; and the translators of an edition of the whole Bible into German, which was printed at Worms in 1529, are commonly supposed to have been Hetzer and Denck. But as Hetzer was decapitated on the 4th of Feb. in that year, and Denck died in the year preceding, the German Bible above mentioned, although it may have been begun by them, was probably continued, and carried through the press by others, whom they had associated with themselves in that undertaking.

No mention is made of Denck by Sandius, or any of those, who profess to have written a history of Unitarianism, before the time of Bock; but there can be no doubt that he ought to be ranked among the number of Antitrinitarians. In his "Ordnung Gottes und der Creaturen Wort," he taught that God is the fountain of all created existences; that the Spirit or Power of God ranks next to God in the scale of being; and then the Word, which God generated by his Spirit. But by "the Word" he understood the souls of men, and not the Son of God. He believed, therefore, that this Word began to exist with the human race.

He altogether denied the real presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and taught that Christians partake of it only in a spiritual sense. He is said also to have rejected the doctrine of a plenary satisfaction by Christ; and it is well known, that he revived Origen's doctrine of Universal Restoration.

It has been customary to class Denck with the German Anabaptists; but he joined no sect, and contended that eternal salvation might be attained by the members of every sect. Hetzer and he acquired great celebrity in Switzerland, and the neighbouring countries; and it has been thought by some to have been partly owing to their fame being spread through the provinces of Italy, that Unitarianism found so many revivers and defenders in the Italian states, soon after the breaking out of the Reformation.

If we are to credit the accounts of Wigand and Scultetus, Denck was prevailed upon by Œcolampadius, a short time before his death, to abandon some of the more extravagant of his opinions; but it does not appear that any change took place in his sentiments respecting the Trinity, and the Deity of Christ.

At Worms, where Denck and Hetzer remained some time, while their German translation of the Prophets was being printed, there was a young evangelical preacher, of the name of James Kautz, of Bockenheim, who embraced their opinions with great ardour, and stood forward as their avowed advocate. He vehemently assailed some of the popular doctrines, in Seven Theses, which he defended at Worms, on the 13th of June, 1527, and made generally known through the medium of the press. This attracted the attention of the preachers at Strasburg, who felt themselves called upon to publish an answer, which might operate as a warning to their people. The reply prepared on this occasion is supposed to have been drawn up by Bucer.

But it had not the effect of silencing Kautz, who continued to attack what he deemed the popular errors, at Worms and elsewhere, till he was apprehended, and lodged in prison at Strasburg. This was about the beginning of the year 1529. In the mean time Denck and Hetzer had left Alsace, and gone into the neighbourhood of Nuremberg. But when the circumstance of Hetzer having impugned the doctrine of Christ's Divinity from the press became known, they both found it expedient to make the best of their way back into Switzerland. Denck went to Basle, where he was soon carried off by the plague; and Hetzer took up his abode in the neighbourhood of Constance, where he shortly afterwards suffered a violent death at the hands of the executioner.*

VIDEND. *Bock*, Hist. Ant. T. I. p. 244; II. pp. 238—243. *Trechsel*, Mich. Servet und seine Vorgänger, S. 16—24.

6.

MICHAEL SERVETUS, (*Hispanicè*, SERVEDO,) was born in the year 1509, at Villanueva, a town of Arragon, in Spain. Sometimes he called himself *Reves*, a word formed by the transposition of the name *Servedo* or *Servetus*, omitting the termination. He received the rudiments of his education at a monastery in his native province, after which he devoted himself to the study of the law at the University of Toulouse, which was then in deservedly high repute, as a place of education for those who were destined for the legal profession. But having heard of the breaking out of the Reformation, he betook himself to the study of the Scriptures, in the perusal of which he found many things at variance with the commonly-received faith. This discovery had such a powerful effect upon his mind, that he resolved to abandon the profession for which his friends

* APPENDIX, No. iii.

had destined him, and devote himself to the dissemination of purer views of Christianity.

He commenced his labours in the South of France; but finding that his efforts were not attended with the success which he had anticipated, on account of the opposition of the priesthood in that country, he resolved to proceed to Germany, where greater freedom of opinion was allowed, and where the cause of the Reformation had already made considerable progress. Having left Toulouse, therefore, where he had been resident about three years, he travelled, by way of Lyons and Geneva, to Basle, in Switzerland, intending to pass on to Strasburg the first convenient opportunity. During his stay at Basle he had several religious discussions with Œcolampadius, in which he argued against the doctrine of two natures in the person of Christ, denied that Jesus preëxisted as the Son of God, and contended that the Jewish prophets uniformly spoke of the Son of God in the future tense.

An idle story was propagated by the enemies of Servetus, that he visited Africa, and derived his religious notions from the Jews and Turks residing in that country. To this disposition on the part of his contemporaries, to rank him among Jews and Mahometans, Servetus alludes more than once, in the course of his writings. "Some," says he, (*Dialog. de Trinitate*, L. ii. fol. 57,) "are scandalized at my calling Christ *the prophet*. Because they happen not themselves to apply to him this epithet, they fancy that all who do so are chargeable with Judaism and Mahometanism, regardless of the fact, that the Scriptures and ancient writers call him *the prophet*." It has been suggested that the circumstance of Servetus's having been born in Spain may have given currency to the above rumour, since that country, besides containing many persons of the Jewish persuasion, lies directly opposite to

the coast of Africa, where Mahometanism is the prevailing religion: but it seems more probable that the charge originated in a perversion of passages, occurring in Servetus's own writings, in which he alludes familiarly to the Talmud and the Koran, speaks of the doctrine of the Trinity as affording matter for derision to the followers of Mahomet, and says that the Jews ridicule the folly of the Christians for their belief in this dogma, and are prevented by such blasphemies from acknowledging Jesus, as the Messiah promised in their Law.

Servetus left Basle in 1530 or 1531; for he found that the doctrines which he taught were not more acceptable to the Protestants of that city, than they had been to the Catholics in the South of France. From Basle he proceeded to Strasburg, where he sought an interview with Bucer and Capito, who were then residing in that city. Capito, if we may judge from the silence of the writers who allude to this interview, saw little, or nothing to censure in the opinions of Servetus; but Bucer appears, from a passage in one of Calvin's letters, to have been completely horror-stricken when he heard them, and to have publicly declared, that the man who could hold such opinions deserved to have his bowels plucked out, and to be torn limb from limb. Servetus's stay at Strasburg was short. As his usual occupations were entirely of a literary nature, and he had no knowledge of the German language, he was unable to procure a livelihood in that city, and therefore soon quitted it, and returned to Lyons.

Before this time, he had been somewhat guarded in the dissemination of his opinions; for he repeatedly declared, in his supplicatory letters to the Senate of Geneva, that his religious discussions in Germany were entirely confined to Œcolampadius, Bucer and Capito. If, however, we are to give credit to Zeltner, Spanheim and Beza, he was

actively employed in diffusing his sentiments in France, as early as the year 1523. But at that time he was a boy of fourteen years of age, and it is scarcely credible that he should have commenced the office of Reformer at so early a period of life as this. Bullinger fixes the time of his first appearance, as an avowed opponent of the doctrine of the Trinity, five years later: but he also seems to have fallen into an error, for Servetus's work "*De Trinitatis Erroribus*" was not published till 1531, before which time, all that he had advanced upon the subject was in the way either of private conversation, or correspondence with literary men.

When he was about to leave Basle, he consigned the above-mentioned work to the hands of Conrad Rouss, the printer, with a view to its publication: but Rouss, not being able to elude the vigilance of the Swiss clergy, sent the manuscript to Hagenau in Alsace, where it was printed under the immediate superintendence of its author, who had removed thither from Strasburg for that purpose. It found a ready sale, and was perused and approved by immense numbers, particularly in Germany. The majority of Christians, however, as might have been anticipated, joined in its condemnation. The leaders among the reformed party in Switzerland were apprehensive that its appearance might prejudice the cause of Luther, and his associates, in the eyes of the Christian world. Œcolampadius, in a letter addressed to Bucer, and written August 5th, 1531, says, "I have seen our Bernese friends this week, who desire to be remembered to you and Capito. The treatise '*De Trinitatis Erroribus*,' which has been seen only by some of them, has given very great offence. I wish you would write, and tell Luther, that the book was printed out of this country, and unknown to us. For, to say the least, it was an impudent thing to charge the Lutherans with ignorance on the subject of Justification.

But that Photinian, or whatever else we may call him, fancies that no one knows anything but himself. If he is not disowned by the Divines of our Church, we shall get into very bad repute. I entreat you especially to be watchful; and if you do it nowhere else, at least apologize for our Churches in your confutation addressed to the Emperor, however this beast may have crept in among us. He perverts every thing to suit his own purpose, merely to avoid the confession, that the Son is coëternal and consubstantial with the Father; and it is he who undertakes to prove that the man Christ is the Son of God." Servetus's book was suppressed at Ratisbon, A. D. 1532; and Ecolampadius, in compliance with the wishes of the Magistrates of Basle, publicly denounced it as a pernicious work, in a speech delivered in the presence of the Senate. He also wrote two letters to Servetus himself, in which he replied to the arguments contained in his book, and urged him to renounce his supposed errors.

Servetus now began to suspect, that men's minds were not yet prepared for a full disclosure of the truth; and in order to allay the ferment which he had excited, he published, at Hagenau, A. D. 1532, "Two Dialogues on the Trinity," in which he strove to soften down some of the expressions, which he had used in his former work. At the beginning of these Dialogues he says, "I now retract all that I lately wrote against the received doctrine of the Trinity, not because it is false, but because it is imperfect, and composed by a child for the use of children. That my former book went forth into the world so barbarous, confused and incorrect, must be ascribed to my own inexperience, and the carelessness of my printer." But Servetus's attempts to rectify the mistakes, to improve upon the style, and to elucidate the argument of his former publication, tended only to exasperate and enflame the minds

of his opponents; and passages not unfrequently occur in the theological writings of his contemporaries, in which they inveigh with great bitterness against him, and his doctrines. The Protestants of that age appear to have been seized with a pious horror, at the thought of submitting the doctrine of the Trinity to the test of argument; and Servetus, who had not only done this, but done it in a bold and uncompromising spirit, brought down upon himself the whole weight of their vengeance. They feared that the agitation of this question would prejudice the cause of the Reformation in the eyes of their Catholic brethren; and laboured, with all their might, to silence those, who had the temerity to transgress the prescribed bounds of Trinitarian orthodoxy. But the more discerning among them foresaw, that, in spite of all the efforts which were made to put down Servetus, the great controversy, which he had started, would one day or other embroil the Christian world in disputes, of which it was impossible to predict the issue. Melancthon, writing to Camerarius on this subject, Feb. 25th, 1533, expresses himself in the following terms. "You ask my opinion about Servetus. I find him sufficiently acute and cunning in argument; but I cannot allow him the praise of solidity. He seems to me to labour under a confusion of ideas, and not to have very clear notions of the matter upon which he treats. On the subject of *Justification* he evidently ventures beyond his depth. With respect to *the Trinity*, you know I was always apprehensive that these things would sooner or later break out. Good God! What tragedies will this question excite among posterity,—whether the Logos is an hypostasis, and whether the Holy Spirit is an hypostasis? I satisfy myself with those words of Scripture, which command us to invoke Christ, which is to attribute to him the honour of divinity, and is full of consolation."

Servetus remained at Lyons between two and three years, and seems to have supported himself there as a corrector of the press. From Lyons he removed to Paris, where he took up the profession of Medicine, to which he devoted himself with such assiduity, under the direction of Silvius, Fernel, and other eminent Professors, that he was soon enabled to take his Doctor's degree. It was during his residence at Paris, that he first became personally known to Calvin, with whom he was anxious to hold a religious discussion: but his own inclination being probably overruled by the advice of his friends, the discussion never took place. This was in the year 1534. It appears, however, that he had returned to Lyons in the year following, where he was employed in superintending the publication of an edition of "Ptolemy's Geography." In the Preface to this work, he speaks of having visited Italy, and being acquainted with the Italian language. This journey into Italy has been entirely overlooked by many of his biographers; and is not even mentioned by De la Roche, whose account of him is, on the whole, drawn up with great accuracy. Servetus himself alludes to it, not only in the Preface to his edition of Ptolemy, as has been already observed, but in his "*Christianismi Restitutio*," where he says, that he has "seen with his own eyes, in the streets of Rome, the Pope treading upon the necks of Princes, and receiving homage from all the people upon their bended knees." According to Calvin, this journey into Italy took place in the year of Servetus's death. But this is evidently a mistake. It must have been at least as early as the year 1535. The most probable opinion is, that it occurred about the beginning of 1530, when, in the dress of a Dominican Friar, he is said to have witnessed the coronation of Charles V.

In 1537, he gave to the world his first medical treatise, entitled, "*Ratio Syruporum*," under the name of Michael

Villanovanus. Of this treatise Anthony Van der Linden, the author of a work "*De Medicis Scriptis*," speaks in the highest terms, styling its author "*Galenii interpres doctissimus, et Medicus excellentissimus*."

At this time, no notice had been taken, by Luther, of Servetus's writings against the doctrine of the Trinity. Even when professedly treating upon that subject, he maintained the most profound silence respecting Servetus: nor did he make the most distant allusion to him, in his Commentary on the Proöm of John's Gospel, where he has spared neither heresies, nor heretics. At length, however, he made mention of him in the year 1539; and classed him, together with Campanus, among the enemies of the Gospel. Different reasons have been assigned, to account for Luther's silence on a subject, which appeared at least to call for some incidental notice. His own mind, it has been supposed, was still wavering. His silence also has been attributed to a feeling of contempt for Servetus. But the most natural solution of the difficulty appears to be, that Luther was restrained from intermeddling with so delicate a subject, by the advice of his friend Melanchthon, lest it should be a means of hastening on that grand controversy, which the latter so much dreaded to encounter, and which he expected would be the occasion of so much persecution and bloodshed. The die, however, was cast. Servetus's controversial writings were already disseminated far and wide; and that prudence, which had before dictated silence, now seemed to call for active interference.

The very same year that witnessed Luther's attack upon Campanus and Servetus, produced a similar attack from the pen of Melanchthon, who wrote to the Senate of Venice a letter of complaint on the subject of Servetus's work "*De Trinitatis Erroribus*," which was widely circulated in that part of Italy, and which he denounced, as a most here-

tical and dangerous book. From the study of this book, it is not improbable that Lælius Socinus, the father of the Italian Unitarians, received his first impressions of the erroneousness of the doctrine of the Trinity. Of this, however, we shall probably have occasion to say more hereafter.

In the year 1540, Servetus was practising as a physician at Charlieu, a town in the south of France; and two or three years later we find him at Vienne, superintending the publication of a Folio edition of Pagninus's Bible. This Bible was printed by Hugh de la Porte at Lyons, and bore the following title. "*Biblia Sacra ex Sanctis Pagnini Translatione, sed ad Hebraicæ Linguæ amussim ita recognita, et Scholiis illustrata, ut plane nova Editio videri possit.*" Servetus wrote a Preface to it, and added a few notes. Calvin calls them impertinent and impious notes; and says that Servetus obtained the sum of five hundred livres for writing them. Servetus supposed, as appears from the Preface, that all the prophecies of the Old Testament, which are usually thought to relate to Christ, were literally fulfilled in some other person, and were applied to him only in a figurative, or spiritual sense. His notes are principally confined to the Psalms, and the Books of the Prophets; but there are a few also upon the Historical Books. The latter generally give a clearer explanation of the Hebrew words; and sometimes, though very seldom, contain historical remarks. It is not till he comes to the Psalms, that he begins to unfold his opinion respecting the passages, usually applied to Jesus Christ. Of the second Psalm he says, that it treats of David's liberation from his enemies. ("*Ad diem Resurrectionis Christi vocem 'hodie' [v. 7] refert Paulus, sicut in die qua evasit ab hoste, dicitur David hodie natus, et hodie denuo factus Rex.*") He explains the twenty-second of David's flight over rocks

and precipices, which lacerated his hands and feet. ("Fugiente Davide per abrupta instar quadrupedis, manus ejus et pedes perforabantur. Unde et Hebræi legunt 'quasi Leonis manus meæ et pedes mei.'" Ps. xxii. 16.) The prophecy in Isaiah vii. 14, he applies to the birth of Hezekiah. ("Ostendit ad literam ipsam Abiam præsentem et parituram Ezechiam.") And he makes a similar application of the word "Emmanuel," in Isaiah viii. 10. ("*Quia nobiscum Deus*.—Quia 'Immanuel,' id est quia Deus est cum Ezechia contra Assyrios.")

These notes gave great offence both to Protestants and Catholics, and the edition was condemned in the Expurgatory Indexes of Quiroga and Sottomaior. Yet Protestants and Catholics of great eminence have since adopted the very same principle of interpretation. Grotius maintained that the predictions of Isaiah related, in their primary and literal sense, to the times and circumstances of the Jewish people, but that they respected the Messiah, in a secondary and allegorical sense. Simon advocated the same opinion. But Father Baltus, the Jesuit, denounces this, as a Socinian mode of expounding the prophecies. We are nevertheless indebted to Dr. George Benson, a learned Unitarian writer of the last century, for one of the ablest treatises ever published on the other side of the question. (An Essay concerning the Unity of Sense; to shew that no Text of Scripture has more than one single Sense.—This Essay was originally prefixed to Dr. Benson's Paraphrase on Paul's Epistles; and was afterwards reprinted in the 4th Vol. of Watson's Theol. Tracts, pp. 481—513.) After replying to all the arguments alleged in favour of a double sense, Dr. B. comes to the conclusion, that "no text of Scripture has more than one meaning;" and, what is perhaps still more remarkable, Dr. J. Pye Smith, the highest authority among the English Calvinists of the pre-

sent day, adopts the very principle of interpretation, which Calvin himself alleged as one of the greatest aggravations of Servetus's offence against orthodoxy. (The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, &c., by John Pye Smith, D.D., 2nd Ed. London, 1829, Vol. I. Book ii. Ch. iv. Sect xix.; Vol. II. Book iii. Chap. i. pp. 23, 24.)

"It is well known," says Allwoerden, "that Calvin, in his charges against Servetus, included his edition of Pagninus's Bible, and particularly his annotation on Isaiah liii." (Hist. Mich. Serveti, p. 167.) The following is the passage to which allusion is here made. "*Quis credidit auditui nostro, &c. Incredibilis res de Cyro, et magnum etiam mysterium, quod sub humilibus Historiæ typis lateant Christi arcana sublimia. Ibidem. Vulneratus est propter prævaricationes nostras. Quasi exigentibus populi peccatis interfectum Cyrum deflet Propheta, eo quod postea sub Cambyse multo deterius habuerint, impedita tunc et diruta Templi ædificatione jam inchoatâ, Daniel ix. Fuitque hæc a Deo data occasio prædicandi passionem Christi, cui soli convenit horum verborum sublimitas et veritas.*"

Soon after Servetus began to practise as a Physician, he met with his former friend and pupil, Peter Palmier, Archbishop of Vienne, who strongly urged him to settle at that place, and offered him an apartment in his own house. This proposal Servetus was induced to accept; and here he continued to live, in good practice, and upon the most friendly terms with his patron, till his repose was destroyed by the machinations of his arch enemy. It was not till after a period of thirteen years, spent in the greatest harmony, in the society, and under the roof of a Catholic Prelate, that Calvin was able to mature the plan, which he had formed for the destruction of Servetus. "Calvin," says Daniel Chamier, of Dauphiny, "not only professed a belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, but defended it with

the greatest constancy, while the Papists were slumbering, among whom, as long as Servetus lived, he lived in safety : but at length he was made by Calvin to feel the force of truth, and when he came to Geneva, was visited with a holy severity by the pious Magistrates of that city." Calvin kept up a long correspondence with him, and endeavoured, as he says in his "*Fidelis Expositio*," for the space of sixteen years, to reclaim him from his errors ; and Servetus consulted Calvin on several points, and sent him the three following questions, to which he asked for as many separate answers. "I. An homo Jesus crucifixus sit Filius Dei ; et quæ sit hujus filiationis ratio ? II. An Regnum Christi sit in hominibus ; quando quis ingrediatur, et quando regneretur ? III. An Baptismus Christi debeat in fide fieri, sicut Cœna ; et quorsum hæc instituta sint fœdere novo ?" To these questions Calvin replied, as he was requested to do ; but Servetus was not satisfied with his answers, and in a subsequent letter assigned reasons for disagreeing with him in opinion. This excited the severe displeasure of Calvin, who was not accustomed to have his dicta disputed. Accordingly he wrote, as he admits, an angry reply to Servetus ; and Servetus defended himself in a spirited, and somewhat intemperate manner. From this time, according to Calvin, commenced a dislike to him, on the part of Servetus, which often vented itself in bitter imprecations. But Calvin, among whose good qualities that of Christian meekness was not conspicuous, repaid the abuse of Servetus with interest.

Bolsec informs us, that, as much as seven years before the death of Servetus, Calvin declared in a letter to Peter Viret, that if he should ever come to Geneva, he would not allow him to return from it alive ; and Varillas affirms, that there is at Paris an original letter of Calvin to Farel, written in 1546, which was never printed, and that these

words are to be found in it. "Servetus has lately written to me, and sent me at the same time a large book, stuffed with idle fancies, and full of arrogance. He says I shall find in it admirable things, and such as have been hitherto unheard of. He offers to come hither, if I like it: but I will not engage my word; for if he comes, and if any regard be had to my authority, I will not allow him to escape with his life."

Grotius alludes to this letter, as being at Paris, in Calvin's own hand-writing. ("Extat ipsius Lutetiæ manus.") The cause of its being written was the determination of Servetus to publish a third work against the Trinity. In the year 1546, he sent to Calvin a manuscript copy of this work, requesting him to give his opinion as to its merits. It has been supposed that this manuscript contained the original draught of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*." But Calvin was so much incensed at the freedom which Servetus had taken in some of his remarks, that he ever afterwards inveighed against him with the greatest bitterness; and came, as we have seen above, to the deliberate determination of plotting his destruction.

This determination could not be carried into effect at once; nor would Calvin, perhaps, have been able to accomplish it at all, had not Servetus, in his zeal for the truth, and his indignation against error, ventured upon the publication of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*." His avowed object in the composition of this book was to bring back the Christian world to what he conceived to be the primitive standard of faith; and it was for this reason that he entitled it "*The Restoration of Christianity*." It consists of seven parts. The first and last of these are particularly devoted to the doctrine of the Trinity; and the fifth contains a series of thirty letters addressed to Calvin on doctrinal subjects. No author's name is given in the title-

page; but M. S. V., the initial letters of *Michael Servetus Villanovanus*, are placed, together with the date, [1553,] at the end of the work. It was no sooner published, than the most strenuous efforts were made, both by Catholics and Protestants, to suppress it; and with such effect, that not more than two copies are now known to exist. A fac-simile of it was published in 1791; but copies of this are almost as seldom to be met with as the original.

It was in the "Christianismi Restitutio" that Servetus promulgated his discovery of the circulation of the blood. This discovery he beautifully unfolds in a passage, which is too long to be transferred to the present biographical sketch; and from which, therefore, the following brief, and necessarily imperfect extracts only are taken. "Cor est primum vivens, fons caloris, in medio corpore. Ab hepate sumit liquorem vitæ, quasi materiam et eum vice versa vivificat." "Vitalis spiritus in sinistro cordis ventriculo suam originem habet, juvantibus maxime pulmonibus ad ipsius generationem." "Ille itaque spiritus vitalis a sinistro cordis ventriculo, in arterias totius corporis deinde transfunditur."

Calvin, who was always on the watch for something by which he might criminate Servetus, soon gave out, that this work was written by him; and availing himself of the assistance of one William Trie, a native of Lyons, who was at that time residing at Geneva, he caused Servetus to be apprehended, and thrown into prison, on a charge of heresy. Some of the friends and disciples of Calvin have attempted to free him from this odious imputation, and he has himself represented it as a calumny: but the fact, that Servetus was imprisoned at the sole instigation of Calvin, is too well established to admit of dispute. Abundant proofs of it may be found in the accounts of De la Roche, Allwoerden, Mosheim, Bock and Trechsel.

Servetus had adopted the name of *Villanovanus* at least twenty years before the publication of his "Christianismi Restitutio;" and it was scarcely known that *Villanovanus* and *Servetus* were the same person, till Calvin, with studied malignity, wrote to his friends to inform them, that "Servetus was lurking in France under a feigned name." In order to prove this identity, William Trie was furnished by Calvin with some of Servetus's original letters, which were transmitted to Vienne; and the evidence supplied by them being conclusive of the fact, Servetus was apprehended, and committed to prison without delay. But having so long, and so reputably exercised his profession of a Physician in that town, M. De la Court, Vice-bailiff and Judge of Dauphiny, gave orders to his gaoler to treat him with kindness, and permitted all his friends who wished it to have access to him. After undergoing three separate examinations, in the last of which he acknowledged himself the author of the letters to Calvin, he saw that his life was in jeopardy; and availing himself of a suitable opportunity, effected his escape. His intention now was to settle as a Physician at Naples, where his countryman, Signor John Valdez, had already sown the seeds of the Reformation. But he was induced, by some strange fatality, to go by way of Geneva; and Calvin, who had heard of his escape from Vienne, and of the probability of his passing through Geneva on his way into Italy, was on the watch for him, and caused him to be apprehended soon after his arrival.

He entered Geneva on foot, having walked from a place called *Le Luyset*, where he had spent the previous night; and probably thinking that a pedestrian would attract less notice, than a person travelling on horseback, or in a carriage. He took up his abode for the day at the Rose Inn, and meant to have hired a boat on the day following, in his way to Zurich. But Calvin having learned that he

was in the city, made the chief Syndic acquainted with the fact, and caused him to be apprehended, and committed to prison. It is uncertain on what day of the month this happened; but a report got abroad, that it was on the Lord's-day, and that Servetus was apprehended at Church, during the time of sermon. It appears, however, from his own confession, that he did not leave his inn, for fear of being recognized.

The laws of Geneva forbade that any one should be imprisoned, unless his accuser were imprisoned with him. Calvin, therefore, prevailed upon one Nicholas de la Fontaine, a native of the Isle of France, to undertake the office of prosecutor. In what relation this man stood to Calvin has never been clearly ascertained. Some say that he was a cook in a gentleman's family. Others are of opinion that he was Calvin's own cook. De la Roche conjectures that he united, in his own person, the two characters of a student and a domestic. But whatever was the precise relation in which he stood to Calvin, it is evident, from a petition which Servetus presented to the Magistrates of Geneva, that Calvin was, in some sense, his *master*.

This man, on the 14th of August, 1553, brought a formal accusation against Servetus, comprising no less than thirty-eight separate charges, to each of which he urged the Senate to demand a distinct answer. The thirty-seventh set forth, that Servetus, in a printed book, had defamed the doctrine preached by Calvin, and decried and calumniated it in every possible way, contrary to a decree, passed on the 9th of November in the preceding year, which had pronounced that doctrine sacred and inviolable. When Servetus had briefly replied to the charges exhibited against him, his accuser produced a copy of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*," and likewise the manuscript work, which Servetus had sent to Calvin about six years before, and to

which allusion has already been made. Of both these Servetus acknowledged himself to be the author. His prosecutor then laid before the Senate copies of "Ptolemy's Geography," and "Pagninus's Bible," which had been edited by Servetus; and demanded, whether he was the writer of the notes contained in those two works: to which Servetus replied in the affirmative. The accuser and accused were then both remanded to prison; but the former was discharged on the fourth day, Calvin's own brother giving bail for his appearance, whenever he should be called upon by the proper authorities.

On the 15th of August, (which was the second day of the preliminary examination,) Servetus was again brought to the bar, and again replied to the interrogatories of his accuser; answering some in the affirmative, and others in the negative, as on the preceding day.

On the third day, (August 16th,) La Fontaine entered into court, accompanied by M. Germain Colladon; and passages were produced from the writings of Servetus, in confirmation of the charges alleged against him. But when they had gone through the first eleven Articles, the court adjourned to the following day. In the mean time La Fontaine presented a petition to the Judges, in which he besought them to demand from Servetus a distinct, categorical answer to each separate article; and requested, that if, on examination, they should be satisfied of his guilt, and think it right to prosecute him by their Attorney, they would issue a declaration to that effect.

The next day, (August 17th,) La Fontaine and Colladon referred to two letters of Œcolampadius, and two passages in the writings of Melanchthon, for the purpose of proving that Servetus had been condemned in Germany; to which he replied, that Œcolampadius and Melanchthon had indeed written against him, but that no definitive sentence

had been pronounced. On the third Article, a passage was produced from Servetus's Preface to "Ptolemy's Geography," containing an alleged calumny against Moses, respecting the fertility of Palestine; and other passages from his Notes on Isaiah vii., viii., and liii. On the sixth Article, passages were quoted from the "Christianismi Restitutio," (fol. 22 to 36,) in which he calls the Trinity *a Cerberus, a dream of St. Augustine, and an invention of the Devil*; and believers in it, *Tritheists*. On the same day his accusers brought forward several passages from his printed books, and manuscripts, containing alleged heretical expressions; and upon the thirty-seventh Article, they produced a manuscript letter of Servetus to M. Abel Pepin, a Minister of Geneva, written more than six years before his apprehension, and a copy of Calvin's "Institutions," the margin of which was covered with notes in Servetus's own hand-writing. To such of these Articles as appeared to him to require special notice, he replied; and on the same day he admitted, that his printer had sent several copies of the "Christianismi Restitutio" to Frankfort.

On the 21st of August, his accusers produced in court a letter of Balthasar Arnollet, the printer of his "Christianismi Restitutio." This letter was written on the preceding 14th of July, and addressed to James Bertet, at Chatillon. The writer informs his friend, that Guérout, who had corrected the press, when the above work was printed, concealed from him the errors which it contained; and even expressed a wish to translate it into French. Arnollet further requests Bertet to go to Frankfort, stop the sale of the copies which were lying there, and cause them to be destroyed. When this letter had been read, Calvin entered the court, attended by all the Ministers of Geneva; and after a long discussion with Servetus respecting the opinions of the Fathers, he and his brother Ministers

retired. Calvin had brought with him copies of the writings of Tertullian and Irenæus, and the Epistles of Ignatius, the use of which, after he had left the court, was allowed to Servetus. The accused was also furnished with pen, ink and paper, to draw up a petition, which he presented to his Judges on the day following.

On the 23rd of August, Servetus was brought to the bar, and interrogated by the Procureur General, who exhibited thirty new Articles against him, relating chiefly to his personal history.

On the 28th of the same month, the Lieutenant brought in thirty-eight Articles, about which he desired that the prisoner might be examined. These Articles were subjoined to a long preâmbles of the Procureur General, the design of which was to shew, that Servetus ought to be put to death.

On the last day of the month of August, the Syndic and Council of Geneva received a letter from the Vice-Bailiff, and the King's Attorney at Vienne, dated the 26th of the same month, thanking them for their vigilance in apprehending Servetus, and for detaining him as their prisoner; and requesting them to send him back to Vienne, in order that they might carry into execution their sentence against him. This day was chiefly employed in interrogating Servetus on matters arising out of the subject of this letter.

On the 1st of September, he was asked to mention the names of those who were in debt to him in France, but declined. On the same day Calvin again made his appearance in court; and was commanded by the Judges to extract several propositions, word for word, from Servetus's book; to which Servetus was required to return a written reply in Latin.

The next time that Servetus was brought before his Judges was the 15th of September; and on that day a

Reply, which Calvin had drawn up during the intervening fortnight, was delivered to him. This Reply is composed with great art, and does much credit to the talent and ingenuity of Calvin. Servetus, however, took no further notice of it, than to make several brief interlineary remarks, expressive, for the most part, of the extreme contempt which he felt for its author. In one of these notes, he says, "In a cause so just I am firm, and have not the least fear of death."

The Council having asked the advice of the Cantons of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, the Magistrates of each of these Cantons sent in a written reply, in which they recommended that a severe example should be made of Servetus, in order to deter others from the propagation of similar dangerous heresies. The letter from Basle was written last, and bore date October the 12th; but it does not appear that the members of the Council had made up their minds as to the nature of Servetus's punishment, till the 23rd of that month. He was at length condemned, on the 26th of October, to be burnt to death before a slow fire; and on that day Calvin (Ep. 161) wrote to his friend Farel of Neufchatel as follows. "The messenger has returned from the Swiss. They all with one consent declare, that Servetus has now revived the impious errors, by which Satan formerly disturbed the Church, and that he is a monster not to be endured. Those of Basle are discreet. Those of Zurich are the most earnest of all; for they describe in emphatical terms the heinousness of his impiety, and exhort our Senate to use severity. Those of Schaffhausen approve. The letter of the Bernese Ministers, which is also to the purpose, is accompanied by one from the Senate, by which our Magistrates have been not a little encouraged. *Cæsar*, who is a comical man, after feigning illness for three days, came into court at length, in order

to acquit that wretch ; for he was not ashamed to propose, that the matter should be referred to the Council of Two Hundred. He has been condemned, however, without dispute. His execution will take place to-morrow. We have endeavoured to change the kind of death, but to no purpose. Why we failed, I will tell you when I see you." The person called "Cæsar," in the above extract, was Amadeus Gorreus, or Perrin, one of the Magistrates of Geneva, who wished to befriend Servetus, and in conjunction with a few other members of the Senate, made a desperate effort to save his life. Had the case been referred, as Gorreus proposed, to the Council of Two Hundred, Servetus would probably have escaped with his life : but the Magistrates decreed that it should be otherwise.

The execution took place, as Calvin announced, the day after his letter was written ; and Farel, was present at it. But the distance was too great for him to have received this letter before he left Neufchatel ; and to have acted upon the information which it contained. Some other friend, therefore, knowing his appetite for heretical blood, had probably conveyed to him earlier intelligence of the decision of the Magistrates ; and he hastened to witness the execution.

Soon after the apprehension of Servetus, Calvin had expressed a hope, in a letter to Farel, (Ep. 152,) written Aug. the 20th, that he would be adjudged guilty of the capital offence, but that some less barbarous kind of death would be substituted for the punishment usually inflicted upon heretics. ("Spero capitale saltem fore judicium ; poenæ vero atrocitatem remitti cupio.") Farel replied to this letter (Ep. 155) on the 8th of September, and the following is an extract from his answer. "It is a wonderful dispensation of God, in the case of Servetus, that he should come thither. Would that he may repent, though late.

It will indeed be a mighty thing, if *he* dies a true penitent, undergoing only one death, who deserves to die ten thousand times over; and if *he* strives to edify all present, who has made it his business to pervert many both dead and living, as well as those who are yet unborn. The Judges will be very cruel, very unjust to Christ, and the doctrine which is according to godliness, and real enemies of the Church, if they are not moved by the horrible blasphemies, with which so vile a heretick assails the Divine Majesty, and has endeavoured to undermine the Gospel of Christ, and to corrupt all the Churches. But I hope that God will cause those, who receive praise for inflicting just punishments on the perpetrators of theft and sacrilege, to act in this case so as to merit applause, by taking away the life of one, who has so long obstinately persisted in his heresies, and brought so many to destruction. In wishing for a less barbarous kind of punishment, you perform a friendly office to a man who has been your greatest enemy. But I beg that you will act in such a manner, that no one may dare rashly to promulgate new doctrines, and unsettle all things with impunity, for so long a time as this man has done."

The conclusion of the sentence passed upon Servetus was as follows. "Having God, and his Holy Scripture before our eyes, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by this our definitive sentence, which we here give in writing, we condemn thee, Michael Servetus, to be bound, and carried to the Lieu de Champel, and there to be tied to a stake, and burnt alive with thy book, written with thine own hand, and printed, till thy body is reduced to ashes: and thus shalt thou end thy days, to serve as a warning to others, who are disposed to act in the same manner. And we command you, our Lieutenant, to cause our present sentence to be carried into effect." The officer

charged with this commission was not slow in executing it; and a bloodier page does not stain the annals of martyrdom, than that in which this horrible transaction is recorded.

On the morning of the 27th of October, 1553, the day after the above sentence was passed, Farel visited Servetus in prison, and strenuously urged him to recant: but Servetus, in reply to Farel's repeated solicitations, implored him to produce one solitary passage of Scripture, in which it is stated, that Christ was called "the Son of God," before his birth of the Virgin Mary; and though he was fully alive to the awful situation in which he stood, and knew that he would be shortly summoned into the presence of his final Judge, neither threats nor enticements could prevail upon him to retract, or to admit that Christ is the Eternal God.

When he was led to the place of execution, he repeatedly cried out, "O God! save my soul! O Jesus, Son of the Eternal God! have pity on me!"

As soon as he came in sight of the Lieu de Champel, he prostrated himself on the earth, and continued for some time in fervent prayer to God. While he was thus employed, Farel, addressing himself to the people, who had flocked together in great crowds to witness the execution, said, "Behold the power of Satan, when he has taken possession of his intended victim! This is a learned man; and a similar fate might have been yours." Servetus now rose from the earth, and Farel urged him to address the assembled multitude, probably in the delusive hope, that he might be induced, at the last moment, to retract. But Servetus still continued to invoke the name of the Almighty; and when Farel persisted in urging him to speak, he asked him, what he could say different from what he had already said? Farel then inquired of Servetus, whether he

had no wife or children, whom he intended to remember in his will. But Servetus, who was an unmarried man, and whose property had been seized upon by his persecutors, and confiscated, was silent. Farcl now urged him to invoke the Eternal Son of God, which he repeatedly refused to do. "Yet," says one of his biographers, "he advanced nothing in defence of his doctrine, but suffered himself to be led away to punishment." This silence Calvin alleges, as a proof of Servetus's obstinacy; or, as he himself phrases it, "of his beastly stupidity."

The pile consisted of wooden billets, intermingled with green oaken faggots, still in leaf. Servetus was fastened to the trunk of a tree fixed in the earth, his feet reaching to the ground; and a crown of straw and leaves, sprinkled over with brimstone, was placed upon his head. His body was bound to the stake with an iron chain, and a coarse twisted rope was loosely thrown round his neck. His book was then fastened to his thigh; and he requested the executioner to put him out of his misery as speedily as possible. The pile was then lighted, and he cried out in so piteous a tone, as to excite the deep and earnest sympathy of the spectators. When he had suffered for some time, a few of them, from feelings of compassion, and with a view to put an end to his misery, supplied the fire with a quantity of fresh fuel, while the unhappy man kept exclaiming, "Jesus, thou Son of the Eternal God! have pity on me!"

"At length," says a manuscript account, "he expired, after about half an hour's suffering." Peter Hyperphrogenus, however, testifies, that the sufferings of Servetus were greatly protracted, in consequence of a strong breeze springing up, which scattered the flames; and that, at last, there was scarcely sufficient fuel left, to enable the executioner to carry the sentence into effect. He adds, likewise, that Servetus was writhing about in the fire between two

and three hours; and that he began at length to exclaim, "Wretched me! whom the devouring flames have not power to destroy!"

Minus Celsus relates, that the constancy of Servetus, in the midst of the fire, induced many to go over to his opinions; and Calvin makes it an express subject of complaint, that there were many persons in Italy, who cherished, and revered his memory. Some writers have stepped forward, in our own day, and defended the part, which Calvin took, in the prosecution of Servetus. Among other recent apologists of the stern Genevese Reformer, M. Albert Rilliet, and the Rev. W. K. Tweedie stand conspicuous; but their arguments have been ably and triumphantly refuted by a well-known writer, in the "*Christian Reformer*" for January, 1847 (pp. 1—21).

Perhaps the most systematic attempt to screen Calvin from the odium, which his malignant and cruel treatment of Servetus has so deservedly brought upon him, is that of Dr. Paul Henry, of Berlin, who, in his work on "*The Life and Times of John Calvin*," of which Dr. H. Stebbing has recently favoured the public with an English translation, enters largely into the subject, and does not hesitate to stand forward as the advocate of "the great Reformer," and to avow his conviction, that this constitutes the crowning act of his life. "Many of Calvin's friends," says he, (Vol. II. p. 160,) "would fain have seen this period of his history wholly obliterated; and there are others, who could conceive the idea of writing his life, without entering into any particular account of the affair of Servetus. I do not agree with them. It is here that Calvin appears in his real character; and a nearer consideration of the proceeding,—examined, that is, from the point of view furnished by the age when it took place,—will completely exonerate him from blame."

Nothing can be further from the intention of the present writer, than to dispute the assertion, "that Calvin," as regards the part which he took in this transaction, "appears in his real character:" but it was the character, be it observed, of a persecutor of the first class, without one humane or redeeming quality, to divest it of its criminality, or palliate its enormity. The defence rests mainly upon the legal and theological feeling of the age; but upon this principle, there is no atrocity, recorded in the annals of persecution, which may not be justified. It will, therefore, be a satisfaction to every reader of unperverted mind to be informed, that the Translator disclaims all participation in the feeling, which dictated this defence; and expresses his disapprobation of Calvin's conduct towards Servetus, in the following unqualified terms. "Anxious as he has been honestly to preserve the sharpest features of the original, the Translator may be permitted, he trusts, to guard himself against the chance of misrepresentation as to his own views or opinions. He begs then that it may be understood, that it is chiefly on account of its historical value that he has desired to make this work known to English readers. He has a most sincere respect for the piety and eminent talents of the author; but neither his regard for Dr. Henry, nor his profound admiration of Calvin, in the general features of his character, and sublime zeal, has altered his views on the subjects to which he has here more especial cause to refer. Dr. Henry has defended Calvin, in the case of Servetus, with admirable ability; but the Translator believes still, as he has ever believed, that when men enjoy so large a measure of light and wisdom as Calvin possessed, they cannot be justified, if guilty of persecution, because they lived in times when wicked and vulgar minds warred against the rights of human conscience. If Calvin had prayed to be set free from the bondage which made

him a persecutor, his otherwise spotless reputation would have been unstained by the one blot which disfigures it. Persecution is opposed to the essential principles of Christianity. Nothing can justify it, under any form or pretence whatsoever, as long as the Gospel is acknowledged to be divine." (Translator's Preface, pp. vi, vii.)

It is unnecessary to add a single word to this well-merited censure, from the pen of one of Calvin's most ardent admirers; for, while ample justice is done to his general character, and to his efforts in behalf of what he deemed Christian truth, his conduct as a persecutor is placed in its true light, and shewn to be utterly inconsistent with the spirit of that religion, of which, but for his reckless conduct in this instance, he might have been regarded, by the enemies, no less than the friends of his theological system, as one of the brightest ornaments. But all, whose natural feelings are not perverted by sectarian zeal, will join with Gibbon in denouncing the conduct of a man, who, under the guise of religion, could violate every principle of honour and humanity; and avail himself of the influence, which he derived from his office as a Christian Minister, and his high position as a Christian Reformer, to devise, if not to perpetrate, one of the foulest murders recorded in the history of persecution. "I am more deeply scandalized," says the author of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," (Chap. liv.) "at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the Auto da Fès of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the Judges of Vienne, and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of a private correspondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varnished by the pretence of danger to the Church or State. In his passage through Geneva,

Servetus was a harmless stranger, who neither preached, nor printed, nor made proselytes. 3. A Catholic inquisitor yields the same obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by."

Sandius, in his account of the writings of Servetus, assigns the first place to a Dialogue in Spanish, entitled, "Desiderius Peregrinus," "The Treasure of the Soul," or "The Treasure of the Christian Soul." This pious, but mystical little work, has been translated from the Spanish into the Italian, French, German, Dutch and Latin; and published again and again in almost every country of Europe. Its real author was a Spanish Monk, of the Order of St. Jerome; and it is difficult to imagine any other reason, why it should have been fathered upon Servetus, than the circumstance of its having first appeared in Spanish, which was his native language.

Of the genuine writings of Servetus, the following account, it is hoped, will not prove unacceptable to the reader, although it has been anticipated, in some measure, by the former part of the present Article.

1. On the Errors of the Trinity, Seven Books, by Michael Servetus, alias Reves, a Spaniard of Aragon. 1531, 8vo. The Latin title of this work is as follows. "De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septem: per Michaëlem Serveto, alias Reves, ab Aragonia Hispanum. Anno MDxxxi." It was published at Hagenau, in Alsace, as appears from Servetus's own confession. The composition is barbarous and uncouth, being very different, in this respect, from his treatise on Syrups, and his notes on Ptolemy's Geography, both of which have been commended for the elegance of their Latinity. When it was known that such a work was in existence, no efforts were spared, by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, to prevent it from getting into circulation. According to Peter Adolphus Boysen, many copies

were burnt at Frankfort; and others, which found their way to Ratisbon, were carefully collected, and destroyed by John Quintana, Secretary and Confessor to the Emperor Charles V. Grotius had access to a copy at Rotterdam, supposed to have been the one in manuscript, seen by Christopher Sandius, and taken from a printed copy, once in the possession of Peter Medmannys, and afterwards the property of John Pesser. Paris possessed only two copies, one of which was mutilated. Melanchthon had seen the work, as appears from a letter addressed by him to Joächim Camerarius, (Ep. 140); and it has been supposed, but without sufficient authority, that Micrælius had access to it. Schelhorn informs us, that there was a copy in the library of Prince Eugene; another in that of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and a third in the possession of John Wilhelm Petersen. He adds, that the contributors to the "Berlin Heave-Offerings" had access to one, if not two copies. Allwoerden denies, that the rarity of this work is so great as many learned men have supposed; and tells his readers, that he himself had seen, at different times, upwards of twenty copies. He admits, that the Confessor of Charles V. suppressed all the copies, which he could meet with at Ratisbon; but says, that we have the evidence of no author of repute, that these copies were committed to the flames, and that the mistake has arisen from confounding the work "De Trinitatis Erroribus" with the "Christianismi Restitutio," which was burnt at Vienne and Frankfort, in compliance with the request of Calvin. Nothing is more certain, however, than that very few persons have had the good fortune to obtain a sight of this rare work. Dr. Drummond, in the Preface to his spirited and excellent little book, entitled, "The Life of Michael Servetus," states, that he has seen a manuscript quarto volume, written in two different hands, and containing the "Seven

Books on the Errors of the Trinity," and the "Two Books of Dialogues" on the same subject. This volume appears, from a printed inscription on the inside of the cover, to have formerly belonged to a Physician of Frankfort on the Maine. It was presented to the Rev. John Montgomery, (nephew of the Rev. Dr. Montgomery, of Dunmurry,) when a student in Glasgow; and was by him kindly entrusted, for a season, to the care of Dr. Drummond, from whom this description of it is borrowed. Abstracts of the contents of the "Seven Books on the Errors of the Trinity" may be seen in Van Seelen's "Selecta Litteraria" (pp. 60—65); Trechsel's "Michael Servet und seine Vorgänger" (S. 67—98); and Henry's "Life and Times of John Calvin," translated by Stebbing (Vol. II. pp. 168—170). The chief aim of the work is to shew, First, that the historical Christ of the New Testament is the man Christ Jesus; or that Jesus of Nazareth, a true man, conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, is the Christ of God, or the Messiah promised to the fathers: Secondly, that he is the Son of God; by which is meant, that his body has a real participation of the substance of God, being begotten of the Holy Ghost, on which account he is the proper, true and natural Son of God, whereas we are only sons of God by adoption:—and Thirdly, that he is God; not that One and Most High, who alone is God the Father, yet substantially, because in him is the godhead bodily. Servetus lays down two fundamental principles; First, that the divine nature is incapable of division; and Secondly, that it can become known to us only by its dispositions, or manifestations. Reasoning from these two principles, he infers, that neither the Logos, nor the Holy Spirit, is a person really distinct from the Father, but only a kind of revelation of the divine nature. Theologians have experienced no small difficulty,

in their attempts to analyse the opinions of Servetus, and give them some definite form. Walchius regarded him as a favourer of Sabellianism; and Beza, in the Preface to his account of Valentine Gentilis, intimates, that in Servetus alone we meet with a union of the opinions of Paul of Samosata, Arius and Eutyches, and even of those of Marcion and Apollinaris. It is now becoming the fashion, to charge him with undisguised Pantheism; and to represent him as the herald, or precursor of Spinoza. But this is to do him a manifest injustice. The truth is, that, in attempting to develop his views, he stumbled upon dialectical difficulties, of which he had not a due appreciation. Imperceptibly to himself, his philosophical speculations led him into inconsistencies; but his Christian piety, and Christian feeling, which never deserted him, placed him at an immeasurable distance from Spinoza. He was a Pantheist in the same sense in which Paul was a Pantheist. He believed, with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that "there is One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all" (Eph. iv. 6); and his attempt to give expansion and development to this sublime sentiment of the Apostle, and to shew its incompatibility with the received doctrine of three persons in the Godhead, was the occasion of that implacable hostility, with which Calvin pursued him. A Dutch translation of the work "On the Errors of the Trinity," by Renier Telle, or Regner Vitellius, was published in 4to., A.D. 1620. The translator professed himself a Calvinist, but was in reality an Arminian. His version is accurate and faithful, and often conveys the meaning more plainly than the original itself. When the sense is more than ordinarily obscure, short explanatory notes are added in the margin.

2. Two Books of Dialogues concerning the Trinity. On the Justification of Christ's Kingdom, Four brief Chapters:

by Michael Servetus, alias Reves, a Spaniard of Aragon. 1532, 8vo. The Latin title, which it may be a satisfaction to some readers to see, is as follows. "Dialogorum de Trinitate Libri Duo. De Justitia Regni Christi, Capitula Quatuor: per Michaël Serveto, alias Reves, ab Aragonia Hispanum. Anno MDxxxii." In these Dialogues Michael and Petrucio are the speakers; and the Four Capitula treat, 1, On Paul's Doctrine of Justification; 2, On the Kingdom of Christ; 3, On the Law compared with the Gospel; and 4, On Charity. Servetus retracts, in this work, what he had advanced on the subject of the Trinity in the former one; but he tells the reader, that his reason for so doing is a conviction, that what he had said was imperfect, not that it was false. This he attributes in part to his own want of skill in composition, and in part to the carelessness of his printer. The sentiments of both treatises are identical; but in the "Dialogues," more is said about the Logos, and less about the Father, than in the work "On the Errors of the Trinity." The writer's views on the subject of Justification are said to hold an intermediate place, between those of the Lutherans, and those of the Catholics. Trechsel has given an abstract of the contents of this second work of Servetus, in his "Michael Servet und Seine Vorgänger" (S. 103—109).

3. Claudius Ptolemæus of Alexandria's Eight Books of Geography, from the Translation of Bilibaldus Pirckheymer, now for the first Time revised according to the ancient Greek Copies, by Michael Villanovanus, &c. Lyons, Melchior and Caspar Trechsel, 1535, Fol. In the Preface to this work, Servetus, after giving a brief account of Ptolemy, and asserting his superiority as a geographer to Strabo, Pliny and Pomponius Mela, goes on to say, that he has spared no pains, in endeavouring to amend the text of his author; and by the aid of manuscripts, and a careful peru-

sal of the works of preceding writers, has succeeded in restoring the true reading of several thousand passages. The text of Ptolemy is enriched by explanatory notes, the style of which is more classical than that of Servetus's two preceding works on the Trinity. The volume is also illustrated by maps and wood-cuts. It was on certain expressions occurring in this work, that Calvin grounded his charge against Servetus, of representing Moses as an impostor, and as bringing contempt upon the Jewish religion. The offensive passage had been expunged in the second edition, published in 1542; but this availed Servetus nothing on his trial. Allwoerden gives an extended analysis of the work in his "History of Servetus," (pp. 158—166,) including the passage above mentioned.

4. The whole Nature and Use of Syrups diligently unfolded, after the example of Galen, &c. Paris, Simon Colinæus, 1537, 8vo. Allwoerden made frequent inquiries after this book, but was never able to obtain a sight of it. A copy of it is said to be preserved in the Royal Library at Königsberg. Servetus published it under the name of Michael Villanovanus. A second edition appeared at Venice, in 1545; and a third at Lyons, in 1546. The following notice of it, and of the cause which led to its publication, is from the pen of Dr. Henry. "In the science of medicine Servetus agreed with the Greek Physicians, in opposition to the Arabian. The controversy between these two parties was one of the topics of the day. Champier, a Physician, and the friend of Servetus, at Lyons, attributed, in a writing for Leonh. Fuchs, false views to the former, and accused him of inclining rather to the Arabian system. This produced an answer from Servetus, and as whatever he did he did with talent, a very excellent work, on the use of Syrups, with a review of the Galenists and Averroists, appeared, from his pen, at Paris in 1537. This

work, as well as the notes on Ptolemæus, was written in Latin, and so excellently, that Mosheim ventures the conjecture, that he intentionally employed a negligent style in his theological writings, it being a principle with him that, in matters of religion, language should always be humble." (Life and Times of Calvin, Vol. II. Chap. iv. pp. 174, 175.)

5. The Holy Bible according to the Translation of Sanctes Pagninus, but so revised after the Hebrew, and illustrated with Scholia, as to appear a manifestly new Edition. Lyons, Hugh de la Porte, 1542, Fol. At the end of the volume are the words, "Excudebat Chaspar Trechsel." This Bible is extremely rare. Copies of it are sometimes to be met with in France; but they fetch very high prices. Calvin, in his accusation against Servetus, alludes to it, and particularly to the note on Isaiah liii. It is evident, from the Preface, that Servetus thought all the prophecies of the Old Testament had a literal and historical sense, and received their fulfilment before the time of the Christian dispensation; and that they could be applied to Christ only in a mystical sense. Servetus has supplied few notes on the Historical Books; but in the Psalms and Books of the Prophets his annotations are numerous. These gave great offence, not only to Calvin, but to the Divines of the Catholic Church. Allwoerden has inserted a long and interesting account of this edition of the Bible, with extracts from the Expurgatory Indexes of Sotomaïor and Quiroga, in his "*Historia M. Serveti*," pp. 167—176. The reader may also consult Masch's edition of Le Long's "*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Hal. 1783," 4to., P. ii. Vol. III. Cap. iii. Sect. i. § xxiv. pp. 477, 478.

6. The Restitution of Christianity. A Call to the Christian World to the primitive Principles of the Apostolic Church: or a Treatise wherein the Knowledge of

God, of the Christian Faith, of our Justification, Regeneration, Baptism, of Eating the Lord's Supper, are perfectly restored; to the Deliverance of the heavenly Kingdom from the Slavery of impious Babylon, and the utter Destruction of Antichrist with his Followers. 1553, 8vo. This is the Rev. Dr. Drummond's translation of the title of Servetus's celebrated Latin work,—“*Christianismi Restitutio: totius Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ ad sua Limina Vocatio, in integrum restituta Cognitione Dei, Fidei Christi, Justificationis nostræ, Regenerationis, Baptismi et Cœnæ Domini Manducationis: restituto denique nobis Regno cœlesti, Babylonis impiæ Captivitate soluta, et Antichristo cum suis penitus destructo*, וְכַעַתָּה חֲזוֹתָא יַעֲמֹד מִיִּכְאֵל חֲשֵׁר. *Kal ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.* MDLIII.” The work extends over 734 pages, and on the last page are the letters M.S.V., and the date 1553. This exceedingly scarce book is the one, which led to the martyrdom of its author, and which was bound to his thigh, when he suffered at the stake. It issued from the press in the month of January, 1553. Five bales of copies were sent to Lyons, and five to Chatillon. A still larger supply was forwarded to Frankfort, and others were sent to Geneva. Many copies were burnt at Vienne. A servant man of Robert Stephens, named Thomas, was dispatched to Frankfort, for the express purpose of seizing, and causing to be destroyed, the copies which had been sent thither; and few, if any of the supply which had been forwarded to that city, escaped the flames. Out of the whole impression, consisting of a thousand copies, not more than five or six are supposed to have been rescued from destruction. One of these formerly belonged to the Unitarians of Clausenburg, in Transylvania. It was procured by Daniel Mark Szent-Ivani, during a visit to England, between the years 1660 and 1668: and was the parent of several manuscript copies, of which the following

account, by the learned Samuel Crellius, has been made public, in a letter addressed by the Rev. Frederick Adrian Vander Kemp to the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., January 15th, 1808, and inserted, with several others, relating to the history of Servetus, in the Fifth Volume of the Monthly Repository. This account of Crellius's was taken, by the author of the above-mentioned letter, as he himself informs us, from a manuscript copy of the one in the Royal Library at Göttingen, made by the Rev. J. J. Stapfer, of Bern, in 1775.

“The noble and Rev. Andrew Lachowski a Moscorow, a Polish Knight, and Minister of the Polish Unitarian Church at Clausenburg, formerly made this copy of the ‘*Restitutio Christianismi*’ at Clausenburg, in Transylvania, for my father, Christopher Crellius, then living in that part of Prussia, called Brandenburg, from a printed copy of Servetus's Book, which D. Mark Szent-Ivani, afterwards Superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania, procured in England, when he was travelling in that country, between the years 1660 and 1670. Returning thence into Transylvania, through the March of Brandenburg, he lent this printed Book of Servetus to John Preussius, Minister of the Unitarian Church in the March, and afterwards my father-in-law; which Preussius partly transcribed himself for his own use, and caused to be transcribed in part by Jeremiah Felbinger, and in part by another person. Before the copy written out by Preussius came into the library of that very learned gentleman, Andrew Erasmus a Seidel, Councillor of the King of Prussia, I restored from that copy, by my son's hand, the last octernion but one in this copy of mine, transcribed by Lachowski, which had been lost through the negligence of a friend in Prussia, before the Book was bound. But Preussius's copy does not everywhere in the margin exhibit the pages of Serve-

tus's printed Book. That printed Book might, perhaps, even yet, be found at Clausenburg, in Transylvania, among the Unitarians."

"I wrote this at Königswald, Feb. 19th, 1719."

"After I had written the above, I met with a letter, which Peter Adams, the travelling companion of D. Mark Szent-Ivani, had addressed to John Preussius, on his return to Clausenburg; from which I ascertained, that the journey above mentioned took place between the years 1660 and 1668, not 1670.

"The manuscript copy, given by me to Seidelius, is now in the possession of the celebrated Mathurin Veyssiere La Croze, Aulic Councillor, and Librarian to the King of Prussia; not obtained from 'Samuel Crellius,' as a late 'History of Servetus,' published under the auspices of the illustrious Mosheim, states, but from the library of the deceased Seidelius." [The "History of Servetus" here alluded to, is Allwoerden's; and the passage occurs at p. 181.]

"I made this additional memorandum at Amsterdam, July, 1728."

"P.S. I afterwards learnt, in the year 1735, from the illustrious Stephen Agh, then a student of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania, now a Professor in the Gymnasium at Clausenburg, that the printed copy of Servetus's work was not found among the Transylvanian Unitarians: for when, on the occupation of Transylvania by the Emperor Leopold, both their Churches at Clausenburg were taken from them by the Roman Catholics, the danger being imminent, they, improvidently secure, neglected to remove their library in time from the greater Church, where it was placed, which was therefore taken possession of by the Jesuits. M. V. La Croze had given his manuscript copy to John Christopher Wolf, Preacher at Hamburgh, from

which place he subsequently went to Offenbach; and after his death, when his books were sold by auction at Frankfort on the Maine, P. De Hondt, bookseller at the Hague, obtained this copy, which I saw in his possession, and knew to be the very one, which I had formerly presented to Seidelius."

"I make this additional memorandum at Amsterdam, July, 1745."

"I received a letter, however, from the above named illustrious Stephen Agh, Dec. 30th, 1745, written at Clausenburg, and containing the following statement. 'When we lost those two Churches, we did not, with the Churches, lose also the books of the celebrated D. M. Szent-Ivani; for they were not at that time taken to the place adjoining the Cathedral, in which many books of our Church were preserved, and those works of Servetus, about which I wrote, but more especially the *Restitutio Christianismi*, I have not found in the Catalogue of his books. If, however, by any chance, I shall hereafter find them, either in the libraries of our Church, or elsewhere,' &c.

"Thus, all hope has not vanished, that a printed copy of the *Restitutio Christianismi* may still be found in Transylvania.

"The manuscript copy, which Peter De Hondt had obtained at Frankfort on the Maine, as we have said above, was sold at the Hague in the very last summer, A.D. 1745, at an auction of his books, for eighty-six Dutch florins. Hartig, a bookseller of Amsterdam, bought it. Peter De Hondt had lent this copy of his to some one to read. A copy of it, made by him, was introduced into a book auction at Amsterdam about two years since, and cost the purchaser more than a hundred Dutch florins."

"I make this additional memorandum January 27th, 1746."

From these detached remarks of Samuel Crellius, which, owing to their having been made at different times, and in two cases after long intervals, are not so clear and connected as might have been wished, and from other information supplied by the writer of the letters to Dr. Jedidiah Morse, the inference may be drawn, that there are presumptively existing at least four manuscript copies of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*," which owe their origin, either directly or indirectly, to the printed copy, procured by Daniel Mark Szent-Ivani, during his visit to this country:—1. That of Crellius, copied by the Rev. Andrew Lachowski; 2. That copied by the Rev. John Preussius and others, and now in the Royal Library at Göttingen; 3. That clandestinely made from De Hondt's copy; and 4. That copied from the Göttingen MS. by the Rev. J. J. Stapfer, of Bern. Bock states, that the library of the celebrated Jablonski, Professor of Divinity in the University of Frankfort on the Oder, once contained an elegant manuscript copy of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*," in folio, made at Clausenburg, in Transylvania; but whether this was one of those already mentioned, or some independent copy, does not appear.

A printed copy of this celebrated work is said to have been secreted by Colladon, one of Servetus's Judges. After passing through the library of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, this copy came into the possession of Dr. Richard Mead, the celebrated Physician, (Sigmund's unnoticed Theories of Servetus, p. 22,) who made a present of it to M. De Boze, Secretary to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, an office which he held for thirty-seven years. In the "*Authentic Memoirs of Richard Mead, M.D.*," which are a translation from the "*Eloge*" upon him in the "*Journal Brittanique*" of 1754, conducted by the elder Maty, the following passage occurs in reference to this copy. "His reputation not only as a Physi-

cian, but as a Scholar, was so universally established, that he corresponded with all the principal Literati in Europe. Mr. De Boze, whose loss the learned world lament no less than the Academy to which he did so much honor, kept up the strictest correspondence with the Doctor. He frequently received from him some valuable piece for the cabinet of the King of France, and never failed of making him a return of the same kind. The scarce and perhaps the only copy of Servetus's last book, passed from the shelves of our English worthy to those of his friend abroad, in exchange for a thousand presents he had received from him." (Pp. 55, 56.) This copy is now at Paris, and is the one consulted by M. Emile Saisset, in drawing up a series of articles on Servetus, lately published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes." That writer says, "Our Royal Library fortunately possesses one of the only two copies of the *Restitution du Christianisme* which it is said have escaped destruction. It is a curious circumstance that this is the identical copy of which Colladon made use when he arranged with Calvin the proceedings against Michael Servetus. It still bears in its margin the damning marks which that penetrating and inflexible theologian inscribed upon it. It was snatched from the flames by some unknown hand, and we can observe in its blackened leaves the marks of fire. It is from the pages of this volume, full of tragical mementoes,—by means of these lines, in parts half effaced by the rust of age, in parts obliterated and reduced to ashes by the flames,—that we have attempted to extract the buried thoughts of the sacrificed author." (Christian Reformer, N. S. Vol. IV. p. 271.)

A third printed copy of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*" once existed at Basle; but Father Simon informs us, that this was transferred to Dublin. Gerard a Maastricht mentions a fourth copy, which he had seen, and examined, in

the public library at Duysburgh; but Theodore Hase says, that, in his time, this was no longer to be found. The only copy now known to exist, beside the one in the National Library at Paris, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna; and it is not improbable that this is the one, which formerly belonged to Daniel Mark Szent-Ivani, and which disappeared from his library in so mysterious a manner, on the occupation of Transylvania by the Emperor Leopold.

Reprints of this scarce work, purporting to be copies of the original edition, are sometimes to be met with in Catalogues; and written copies of it also are occasionally seen in England, as well as on the continent. One of these was made for Dr. More, Bishop of Ely, from the printed copy in the Library of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and M. Souverain, author of "*Le Platonisme dévoilé*," had access to another.

The original manuscript, written by Servetus's own hand, once belonged to Coelius Horatius Curio. It afterwards found its way into the library of M. Du Fay, with the rest of whose books it was sold at Paris, in 1725. The purchaser was the Count De Hoym, Polish Ambassador at the French Court, who bought it for a hundred and seventy-six livres. It was afterwards the property of M. Gaignat, and was sold, with the rest of that gentleman's library, in 1769. What next became of it, and whether it is now in existence, the present writer has not been able to ascertain. It was in a very tattered, and mutilated state, when in the possession of M. Gaignat.

For an account of the contents of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*," the reader may consult Sandius's "*Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*" (pp. 14, 15); the *Monthly Repository* for 1810, (Vol. V.,) pp. 526—528; and Trechsel's "*Michael Servet und seine Vorgänger*," S. 119—144.

Peter Palmer, a London bookseller, projected an edition

of the Works of Servetus in 4to., 1723, but was prevented from carrying his design into execution, by the interference of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. At the instance of Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, John Kent, messenger of the press, and William Squire, messenger in ordinary, seized the whole impression, before it was completed; and a very few copies escaped destruction.

7. For an account of other writings, of which Servetus contemplated the publication, if his life had been spared, the reader may consult Article 42 of the present work.

VIDEND. *Sandii* B. A. pp. 6—15. *Bock*, Hist. Ant. T. II. pp. 321—395. *Trechsel*, Michael Servet und seine Vorgänger, *passim*. *Allwoerden*, Hist. Michaelis Serveti, *passim*. *M. De la Roche*, Biblioth. Anglaise, T. II. P. i. Art. vii. *Jac. G. Chauffepie*, Dict. Hist. et Crit. T. IV. pp. 219—245. *D'Artigny*, Nouv. Mémoires de Critique et de Littérateur, 1740, T. II. Art. 11. *Calvini* Epp. Hanov. 1597, 12mo. N. 162. 155. 156. 161. *Calvini* Fidelis Expositio Errorum Mich. Serveti, [published among Calvin's Tracts,] Geneva, 1576, pp. 703. 836. *Æcolampadii et Zuïnglii* Epp. Bas. 1592, 4to. L. i. p. 83; L. iv. p. 801, Epp. 1, 2. *Melanchth.* Epp. Lond. 1642, L. iv. Ep. 140, p. 708. Histoire de l'Heresie. Paris, 4to. pp. 350, 351. *Grotii* Append. ad Commentat. de Antichristo. Opp. T. III. p. 503. Mon. Rep. Vol. V. (1810) pp. 105. 163. 222. 277. 328. 377. 430. 525; Vol. X. (1815) p. 695. Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Richard Mead, M.D., London, 1755, 8vo. l. c. The unnoticed Theories of Servetus, A Dissertation addressed to the Medical Society at Stockholm: by *George Sigmond*, M.D., &c. London, 1826, 8vo. Apology for Dr. Michael Servetus, &c., by *Richard Wright*. Wisbeach, 1806, 8vo. The Life of Michael Servetus, &c., by *William Hamilton Drummond*, D.D. London, 1848, 12mo. The Life and Times of John Calvin the great Reformer: translated from the German of *Paul Henry*, D.D., by *Henry Stebbing*, D.D., F.R.S., &c. London, 1849, 8vo. Vol. II. Pt. iii. Chap. iv. v. Christian Reformer, N. S., Vol. III. (1847) pp. 1—21; Vol. IV. (1848) pp. 264—276. 321—333. *Vogt*, Catal. Historico-Crit. Librorum Rariorum, pp. 622—624. *Jo. Henr. a Seelen*, Selecta Litteraria, Ed. ii. Lubecæ, 1726, 12mo. N. ii. pp. 52—76. *Schelhornii* Amœn. Lit. T. IX. pp. 723, 724, etc.

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